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MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
D U K E O F S U L L Y,

PRIME MINISTER TO

H E N R Y T H E G R E A T.

C O N T A I N I N G

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The Tryal of R A V A I L L A C for the Murder of
H E N R Y the G R E A T.

I N T H R E E V O L U M E S.

V O L. II.

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B O O K XI.

THE time settled for the agreement about the marquifate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had ^{1599.} lapsed without any decision by his holiness, because the duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other person that it could not be favourable for him, had, to * elude the sentence, made use of all those arts that were generally practised in this little court, whose policy it was, when its safety or advantage was in question, to employ cunning, treachery, submission, and the appearance of the strongest attachments. The first thought that presented itself to the duke of Savoy's mind was, to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itself with the holy see: but as this proceeding seemed too disingenuous, he had recourse to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily resign the arbitration: he apprised his ambassador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy that Clement VIII. had suffered

* This marquifate was a transferrable fief of Dauphiné, to which the house of Savoy had no right.

1599. himſelf to be gained by the king, on a private condition, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty ſhould engage to yield afterwards to the pope himſelf all his claims upon the marquiſate of Saluces. The ambaffador, who was firſt impoſed upon by his maſter, explained himſelf in ſuch a manner upon this colluſion, that his holineſs, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, reſigned it with indignation.

THE duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to underſtand, that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourſe to any foreign arbitration upon the diſpute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the ſubject of their conteſt, which he took care to have repreſented to him, as a thing of ſuch ſmall value, that it could not merit the attention of ſo great a king. And it was with theſe inſtructions that the ſieurs de Jacob, de La-Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

WITH views of this nature the miniſter and the confidant of the prince is commonly the perſon whom they begin to engage in their intereſt, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he ſhould not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the deſign with which they come, and in their diſcourſe make no longer any uſe of that caution which is obſerved in a congreſs. Theſe gentlemen therefore told me, that their maſter did not pretend to hold the marquiſate of Saluces of his majeſty any otherwiſe than as a meer gift of his munificence; and at the ſame time inſinuated to me plainly enough, that this preſent would produce from the duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the requeſt, and my ſolicitude to ſecure its ſucceſs. I would not ſeem to underſtand theſe laſt words; and with regard to the firſt, I told the agents drily, that ſince, as they well knew, no one could beſtow upon another what was not immediately in his own poſſeſſion, it was neceſſary the duke of Savoy ſhould firſt begin by reſigning all claim to the marquiſate of Saluces; and that then his majeſty, who I aſſured them had no leſs greatneſs of mind than his highneſs, would uſe his power royally. And I very earneſtly intreated them to addreſs themſelves directly to the king: which they did, diſcouraged with the manner I ſpoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared ſo reſolute upon every thing that regarded the ſtate, that after ſe-

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veral useleſs attempts, they laid aſide all thoughts of ſucceeding this way. 1599.

FINDING all France, and the court itſelf, filled with malecontents and mutinous perſons, they imagined that by putting them on to ſome violent reſolution, they might give Henry ſufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him loſe ſight of all that paſſed without. The duke of Savoy's preſence appeared to them abſolutely neceſſary to engage more cloſely thoſe lords that liſtened to their ſuggeſtions, and they wrote to him, that his intereſt required that he ſhould take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly ſuited to the duke's character *: he conſented to it, and ordered them to demand his majeſty's leave for that purpoſe; which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reaſon. But the duke of Savoy had deprived him of the leaſt pretence, by proteſting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himſelf treat with his majeſty; or rather, that he came to ſubmit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with ſo many complaints againſt Spain, that he ſeemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of ſecurity on an union with France. He had a ſhort time before reſuſed an advantageous propoſal made him by the king of Spain, to ſend his ſon and his eldeſt daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this ſtep of the duke of Savoy, the pope was fully determined to concern himſelf no further with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which from the very firſt appeared to him abſolutely neceſſary; namely, to give up no part of that ſatisfaction which was due to him by the duke, and to diſcover all his tranſactions with the malecontents of his court.

AMONG theſe the king always gave marechal Biron the firſt rank. His majeſty knew, that during the ſtay this marechal made in Guienne, he had ſolicited the nobility of that province to engage in his intereſts; and that at his own table he had had ſuch converſations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and inſolence of his diſpoſi-

* It is ſaid, that this prince, during his reſidence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not

" come into this kingdom to reap, but to ſow."

1599. tion; but what gave most weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all possible caution, came at the same time to his majesty's knowledge. And the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to disconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleasure, to pass the summer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he said, some of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewise, in the state things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I ATTENDED his majesty, whose stay at Blois produced nothing of consequence enough to be mentioned: he passed his time there in the employment I have already mentioned, and in endeavouring to procure the so earnestly desired dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the duchess of Beaufort lived, no one was solicitous to press Henry to a divorce, either because they apprehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his mistress, who was universally hated, or that they did not care to expose themselves to the rage of this woman; who was always to be feared, even though her designs should not succeed: but as soon as she was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to solicit him on this subject. The procurer-general came to his majesty, and intreated him to give his subjects this satisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promised, however, to yield to the desires of his people.

I NOW resumed my correspondence with queen Margaret with more ardour than before: I had taken no pains to remove the obstacle which this princess made, on madam de Beaufort's account, to the consent that was required of her; for I looked upon it as a resource to which, probably, every one must have applied; and it was this only that could have restrained the court of Rome, if the king had suffered himself at last to be gained by his mistress: besides, the compliance I observed in Margaret assured me that she did not make it a pretence for an absolute refusal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the answer she wrote me from Usson, to a letter I had just sent her, in which I mentioned the sacrifice that was expected from her, in very respectful but in very clear terms, as such negotiations require. Margaret, on her side, to shew that she perfectly understood what was to be done, explained herself absolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it such reasonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future; she only

only desired a decent pension might be assigned her, and that her debts might be paid; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the king, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be suspected: this was Langlois, who had served his majesty so faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for it with the post of master of the requests. It was not easy to find a man who was more capable of business: he brought his majesty an answer from Margaret*; for the king thought he likewise was under a necessity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodness and complaisance, but in terms far less explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a state of this princess's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holiness to understand, that she was far from being constrained to this act; that she had the same solicitude for the conclusion of this fair as all France had. D'Ossat, provided with a writing of the same kind, found no more obstacles: he was seconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the scandal of his first commission. The holy father used no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not suffer himself to be influenced by suggestions of envious persons, a detestable sort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the bishop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finishing hand to this affair, which could be only done in France; associating with him two commissioners of that nation, the archbishop of † Arles, and the cardinal de Joyeuse: the course they were to take, was to declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

WHILE this affair was hastening towards a conclusion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diver-

* See these two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the New collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

† Horace del Monte, the archbishop of Arles, and Francis de Joyeuse, the second son of William de Joyeuse. These three commissioners having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, bishop of Paris, after maturely examining the reasons alledged on both sides, declared the marriage void, by

reason of consanguinity, different religion, spiritual affinity, compulsion, and for want of the consent of one of the parties: for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who also was called Margaret, being the sister of Francis I. See the history and pieces concerning this divorce in Matthieu, tom. II. b. ii. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.

1599. fions, and the pleasures of the table, heard mademoiselle d'Entraques * often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, spoke so advantageously of the beauty, wit, and sprightliness of this young lady, that the king had a desire to see her, and became immediately passionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreseen the uneasiness this new passion was to give him ! but it was Henry's fate, that the same weakness which obscured his glory, should likewise destroy the tranquillity of his life.

THE lady was no novice : although sensible of the pleasure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her predominant passion ; and she flattered herself she might make so good use of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her husband. She did not therefore seem in haste to yield to his desires ; pride, chastity, and interest, were employed in their turns ; she demanded no less than one hundred thousand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that she had only increased Henry's passion, by an obstacle, in my opinion, much more likely to cool it, since his majesty was obliged to snatch this sum from me by violence, she no longer despaired of any thing, and had recourse to other artifices ; she alledged the restraint her relations † kept her in, and the fear of their resentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all these scruples, but could not satisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared, that she would never grant him any thing unless he would give her a promise, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, she said (accompanying this strange request with an air of modesty, with which she well knew how to enflame the king) that she asked for this promise, to her a verbal one had been sufficient, or, indeed, she would have required none of any kind, being sensible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that ho-

* Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entraques, Marcouffy, and de Maleherbes, by Mary Touchet, mistress to Charles IX. whom he married for his second wife. The writings of those times represent her as not so beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and still more gay, ambitious, and enterprizing. This sketch, which corresponds with what the duke de Sully says here, will be very much confirmed in the sequel of these Memoirs.

† This fear was not entirely without

foundation. If we may believe the marshal de Bassompierre, in his Memoirs, her mother was indeed very condescending in this affair ; and it was even she that drew the king to Maleherbes, a house where she lived : but her father was not so complying, any more than the count d'Auvergne, half-brother by the mother to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occasion ; and they carried the lady to Marcouffis, where the king nevertheless went to see her. Tom. I.

nour, but that she would have occasion for such a writing, to serve as an excuse for her fault to her relations; and observing that the king still hesitated, she had the address to hint, that in reality she should look upon this promise as of very little consequence, knowing well the king was not to be summoned to a court of justice like one of his common subjects. 1599.

WHAT a striking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not so dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewise those reasons he had to believe her far from being a vestal, or those intrigues against the state of which her father, mother, her brother, and even herself, had been submitted to, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had so lately signified to them from his majesty; notwithstanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his mistress's desires, and promised to grant her request.

ONE morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontainebleau, and put this shameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of justice, which I am so much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader must perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that, in the greatest excesses to which he was hurried by his passions, he always submitted to a candid confession of them, and to consult with those persons whom he knew were most likely to oppose his designs. This is an instance of rectitude and greatness of soul, rarely to be found amongst princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the stab of a poignard, Henry sometimes turned aside to conceal his confusion, and sometimes endeavoured to gain over his confidant by condemning and excusing himself by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clause of marrying a mistress, provided she bore him a son in the space of a year (for it was conceived in these terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the shame and contempt the king must necessarily incur, by a promise which, sooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confusion. I was also afraid of the consequences of such a step in the present conjuncture whilst the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me silent and motionless.

HENRY, seeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a visible agitation of mind, said to me, "Come, come, speak freely, "
"and

1599.

"and do not assume all this reserve." I could not immediately find words to express my thoughts, nor need I here assign reasons for my perplexity, which may be easily imagined by those who know what it is to be the confidant of a king, on occasions when there is a necessity of combatting his resolution, which is always absolute and unalterable. The king again assured me, that I might say and do what I pleased without offending him; which was but a just amends, he said, for having forced from me three hundred thousand livres. I obliged him to repeat this assurance several times, and even to seal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer hesitating to discover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands and tore it to pieces, without saying a word. "How!" said Henry, astonished at the boldness of this action, "*Morbleu!* what do you mean to do? I think you are mad." I am mad, I acknowledge, sire, replied I, and would to God I was the only madman in France. My resolution was taken, and I was prepared to suffer every thing rather than, by a pernicious deference and respect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithstanding the rage I saw that instant impressed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to serve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to represent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the subject may be imagined to suggest to me. The king, angry as he was, listened till I had done speaking, but, overcome by his passion, nothing was capable of altering his resolution; the only effort he made was not to banish a confidant too sincere. He went out of the gallery without saying a single word to me, and returned to his closet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a standish and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promise. I was at the foot of the staircase when he descended; he passed by without seeming to see me, and went to Malesherbes to hunt, where he staid two days.

I WAS of opinion that this incident should put no stop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being sought for for the king, but rather that it should hasten both: his majesty's agents at Rome made therefore the first overture of a marriage between Henry and the princess Mary of Medicis*, daughter to the grand duke

* Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis grand duke of Tuscany, by the archduchess Jane of Austria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion six hundred thousand crowns, besides

rings and jewels. La Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 336, give an account of the negotiations of d'Oilat and de Sillery, relating to this marriage.

of Florence. The king suffered us to proceed in this business, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even named the constable, the chancellor, Villeroy, and me, to treat with the person whom the grand duke should send to Paris. We were resolved not to let the affair sleep. Joannini, the person deputed by the grand duke, was no sooner arrived, than the articles were instantly drawn and signed by us all. 1599.

I WAS pitched upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the business would have been concluded so suddenly. As soon as I replied to his question from whence I came, "We come, fire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been struck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber hastily, delivering himself up to reflections, with which his mind was so violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had represented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himself like a man who had taken his resolution, "Well!" said he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *departieu*! be it so, there is no remedy: if for the good of my kingdom I must marry, I must." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of succeeding no better in his second than his first marriage was the cause of his irresolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himself with glory and success from a thousand cruel dissensions, which war and policy had occasioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domestic quarrels, and seemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice sent from a capuchin of Milan*, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was seized in the midst of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not solemnized till the following year.

OTHER foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are these; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorously begun when the archduke went into those provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbade his subjects to bear arms in the service of the States, but this was merely for form's sake, policy not permitting him to suffer the Flemings to be oppressed. His majesty not only forbore to punish those who disobeyed these orders, but likewise assisted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I shall say

* His name was Frere Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himself for it, and caused several advantageous offers to be

made him by his ambassador at Rome. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 302.

1599. nothing of, except that the duke of Mercœur asked and obtained leave to serve in the troops of the emperor Rodolph †; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland * was dethroned by his subjects, who put his uncle Charles duke of Sudermania in his place; and lost all hope of ever being restored by the defeat he received from his rival.

WITH respect to my own personal affairs, this was the most considerable. This year the princess d'Epinoi †, came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my interest with the king against the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to usurp her estate, and that of her children. These children were five in number, four of whom, three sons and her eldest daughter, she had brought with her; the youngest was educated under the care of madam de Roubais, widow of the viscount de Gand her uncle and mine. The princess told me, that the nearest relation by the father's side which her children had in France being myself, it was fit I should be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this trust, to procure them justice; and had the satisfaction at the end of seven years, during which time I took the same care of these children as my own, to restore to them the possession of all their estates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand livres a year. I shall have occasion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majesty.

ABOUT the same time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my assistance in procuring leave for them to establish manufactures of silks, and of gold and silver stuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, assuring me that they had sufficient for to supply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their answer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to dissuade them from an enterprize which could not miscarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refusal they addressed themselves directly to his majesty. I thought it necessary not to oppose an establishment, which, if well conducted, might be of great

* Sigismond. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-establish the catholic religion in Sweden. See, with regard to all these foreign affairs, De Thou, le Séjennaire, and other historians, an. 1599.

† Hippolite de Montmorency, widow

of Peter de Melun prince d'Epinoi, died in 1594. The princes de Ligne, of whom he speaks here, are l'Amoral prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, that married Mary de Melun, who had the feignories of Roubais, d'Antoing, &c. and his brothers.

use. The king, overcome by their importunity, granted all they asked; but six months were scarce passed, when, for want of having taken proper measures, they came to get their commissions revoked, which had given general discontent, on account of the inconvenience and increase of expence to the purchasers, which had been produced by this new regulation *.

1599.

THE king believing the affair of the marquissate of Saluces would not be finished without striking a blow for it, had, for some time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand master of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himself well of them, and above all of acting by himself; this good old d'Estrées was not able to do: however, his majesty would not take away the post from him for his children's sake, of whom monsieur d'Estrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder de Born being desirous of resigning the post of lieutenant general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to those of the grand master of the ordnance, although I was not invested with this last. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the first, already very considerable, by raising it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the salary, and lastly by granting the patents gratis. However, I must acknowledge, that I was not to be won by these offers, and could not resolve to serve under another, after having been disappointed of the first place: I therefore excused myself, upon the business I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be imposed upon by this answer, and, after many solicitations which I knew how to defend myself against, he left me in anger, telling me that he would mention it to me no more, but, that since I would listen to nothing but my own caprice, he would take his own way.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whose profits the new prohibition had considerably diminished, likewise contributed not a little to its revocation. *Chronologie Septennaire*, p. 94. an. 1599. The case is the same with regard to these stuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which should subsist between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this respect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out

the methods of manufacturing these stuffs ourselves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian stuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wished that we would be more careful to forbear the use of the latter, or rather make in France such stuffs as would serve instead of these which are so commodious and serviceable.

1599.

HIS kindness for me made him that moment forget this threat. He caused a proposal to be made to monsieur de Estrées to resign this employment, which, as soon as I was informed of, I offered, by monsieur and madam du Pêche, three thousand crowns to madam de Nery, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his consent; the master of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his post. The king immediately acquainted me with his resolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquissate of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to say, without a great number of very difficult sieges; for that is the usual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majesty, and agreed with d'Estrées for eighty thousand crowns; all these petty claims rising to a considerable sum more, I was, on this occasion, obliged to take up rents to the value of a hundred thousand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was solemnly invested with the dignity* of grand master of the ordnance, and took the usual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty four thousand livres. I thought myself obliged, in gratitude to his majesty for this last instance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I visited the arsenal, where every thing seemed to me in such a miserable condition, that I resolved to take up my residence there, that I might apply myself wholly towards its re-establishment, although this castle was then very ill built and destitute of every conveniency.

THE affairs of the artillery were still worse. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who, not having the slightest notion of their trade, were, in fact, only the servants of the officers of the court of justice. I cashiered about five hundred of them at one stroke. I con-

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome, in the place where he gives us the list of the grand masters of the ordnance, speaks thus, "Since M. de Rosny has had this charge of grand master, who undoubtedly does the place so much honour, the arsenal is in very good order, owing to his great capacity and appli-

cation, especially as the importance of the thing itself and his own good sense would have it so. Witness what he performed in the last war with Savoy, where, in a short time, he gave proof of very quick dispatch and diligence, by being sooner in the field than he was expected." *Vies des hommes illustres*, art. M. Rosny, tom. I. p. 227, 228.

ferred next with the commissaries for saltpetre, and agreed with them for a considerable provision of powder, which I shewed to the king. I treated likewise with the masters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cart-wrights and carpenters, for the wood-work necessary for the designs I had formed. His majesty came to visit his arsenal himself, fifteen days after I was settled there; and these visits became afterwards one of his chief amusements: he took pleasure in seeing all the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myself to them. 1599.

THAT diligence indeed was no more than necessary in the present posture of affairs in Savoy, the detail of which, and that of the war they produced, will make up the subject of these Memoirs for all the following year. It was at the end of this, that the duke of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with those intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce those effects he had promised himself from his artifices. The reflections which the past conduct of this prince, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character gave rise to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewise something still more certain against him: Lesdiguières had sent advice to his majesty, that the duke was fortifying his castles and towns with great care, especially those of Bresse, and furnishing them with ammunition and provisions. It was known, by means of the count de Carces and the sieur du Passage, that he had strongly solicited the court of Madrid, and pressed the pope, to procure a second reference of the affair; representing to him, that it was the interest of all Italy not to suffer that his most christian majesty should possess any thing beyond the Alps. The French residents at Florence sent advice, that the duke's purpose, by coming into France, was to circumvent the king; who, on his side, was persuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himself that would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the king of Spain and other princes of Italy; for these last were at no pains to conceal their dislike of the duke of Savoy's ambitious and restless spirit: and the king of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Comté, of more value than the two Castiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent sallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had absolutely ruined their former good correspondence.

1599.

THE event proved the justness of those observations which the letter the king shewed me from Lesdiguières occasioned; but in public he shewed no resentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings; he even ordered me to spare no expence to give him, at Lyons, such reception as is due to foreign sovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cause to complain of me upon this account: but messieurs the counts of Saint-John * did not act in the same manner; they denied him certain honours which the dukes of Savoy claimed in the assembly of canons as counts of Villars. It was at Fontainebleau and at Paris where the shew was most magnificent. The † duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with splendor suitable to his rank.

THREE days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was desirous of shewing him the new regulations in the arsenal, sent me notice that he would come and sup there with the duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The duke of Savoy came so long before, that I could not impute such extraordinary haste to mere accident. He desired to see the magazines; which was not what I wanted; I was ashamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houses. Twenty cannons lately cast, and as many more in a readiness for it, forty completely mounted, and several other works which he saw carrying on with great diligence, surprised him so much, that he could not help asking me what I meant by all these preparations? Sir, replied I, smiling, to take Montmelian. The duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little disconcerted him, with an air of gaiety and freedom asked me if I had ever been there; and upon my answering him in the negative, "Truly, I thought" "so, said he, or you would not have talked of taking it; Montmelian is impregnable." I answered in the same tone, that I would not advise him to oblige the king to make the attempt, because I was

* It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 323. that the canons of Lyons refused the duke of Savoy the place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke his father, and that for a very obvious reason, the house of Savoy having since that time lost possession of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony consisted in presenting some sacred vestments to the duke at the entrance of the cloys-

ter, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

† Notwithstanding this magnificent reception, the duke of Savoy, after the first conference he had with Henry IV. became sensible that he was not liable to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my message," says he, and may now go whenever I will." Matthieu sur le Voyage de ce prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

very certain Montmelian would, in that case, lose the title of impregnable.

1599.

THESE words gave our conversation immediately a very serious turn. The duke of Savoy taking occasion to mention the affairs that had brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me sensible that he knew I was not in his interest, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his majesty: and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleasure. However, that same night commissioners were named for examining the occasion of the contest: the constable, the chancellor, marshal Biron, Meissé, Villeroi, and myself, were appointed for the king; and for the duke of Savoy, Belly his chancellor, the marquis de Lullin, the sieurs de Jacob, the count de Morette, the chevalier de Brétons, and des Allymes.

THE duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commissioners to his interests: he gained them completely at last, by the liberal gifts which he bestowed both on them and the whole court* at the new year. But I was the person that gave him most trouble; for every time, when the question was debated amongst the commissioners, I constantly held firm to this determination, either that a restitution should be made to his majesty of the marquissate of Saluces, or that Bressé, and all the border of the Rhône from Geneva to Lyons, should be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of such a proceeding, they would have solicited my exclusion from their meetings: therefore they had again recourse to an attempt to gain me, which they resolved to do at any price whatsoever.

1600.

ON the 5th of January, des Allymes† came to make me the usual compliments, in the name of his highness: he intreated me,

* The duke sent the king two large basons and two crystal vases, as a new-year's gift. "In return of which, the king gave the duke a crotchet of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his majesty's picture: it was a very fine piece, and the duke had a great value for it: he made presents to all who came to compliment him." Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600. It was said that he had gained over the duchess of Beaufort to his interest. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the restitution of Saluces might have been

dispensed with. The duke of Savoy playing at primero with Henry, on a bett of 4000 pistoles, the king neglected his play, supposing that he had already won the game: but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himself with shewing the cards to the dukes of Guise and D'Aubigné, who were present, and then shuffled them together. It is D'Aubigné that relates this circumstance of the duke's generosity or policy.

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambassador from Savoy to the court of France.

with

1600. with great politeness, to attend to his master's reasons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the same time that he made me this request, he presented me with his highness's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thousand crowns value. To assist me in making a composition with my conscience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me busy in admiring the brilliants, added, that it was given me by a prince whose attachment to the king was equal to his friendship for me. I still kept the picture in my hand, and asked Des Allymes what were the proposals he had to make me? He, who thought the decisive moment was now come, immediately displayed his whole stock of eloquence; and for want of good reasons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his master with Spain, who offered to assist the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itself. All this cost him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to dispose absolutely of these dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquissate.


I COULD keep silence no longer. I told Des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquissate of Saluces to be restored to him, it was not on account of its value, since that was very inconsiderable; but that he could not in honour suffer the crown to be dismembered of one of its antient domains, and which had been usurped at a time when the duke of Savoy, having received the highest obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abstained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expressions in my favour; and to pay his compliments with others, assured him, that when the duke of Savoy had made an absolute restitution of Saluces, I would not forget to use my interest with his majesty, to engage him to procure those opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majesty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praising the workmanship and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the present was the only reason hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleasure, in remembrance of a prince so obliging. Accordingly, I separated the box and diamonds from the picture, when Des Allymes telling me, that it did
not

not belong to him to make any alterations in his master's presents, I intreated him to take back all together. And he left me in despair of ever being to engage me in his master's interest, and appeared but little satisfied with my behaviour. 1600.

ALL that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majesty's refusing to gratify them in this request, the duke of Savoy took it in his head to desire, that the patriarch * of Constantinople might assist at these meetings in the name of the pope; which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this proposition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the assembly to be kept at the constable's house, because he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had seen the conference begun: but before he left us, he exhorted all the commissioners to have a strict regard to justice; and whispering me in particular, "Take care of every thing, said he, "and do not suffer them to impose upon me."

UPON the king's departure, I found, that instead of taking their seats, they divided into parties, two and three together, and the nuncio sometimes conferring with one set, sometimes with another, not suffering the business to be entered upon regularly; and, above all, carefully avoiding to say any thing to me. At length, Bellievre told me, that the good patriarch could not subdue his scruples about conferring with an huguenot; and intreated me, in the name of the assembly, to absent myself, since nothing could be done while I was present. I instantly comprehended the cause of this behaviour; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had passed. I met him in the gallery, where he had stopped to speak to Bellengreville: he asked me, with some surprise, if all was over already? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commissioners, and tell them, that if there was any person amongst them to whom my presence was displeasing, it was his business to withdraw, not mine. I disturbed a little the joy of the assembly, by repeating this new order of the king's. The measures they took were, to waste the hours in seeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached; and then they deferred entering upon the que-

* Father Bonaventure de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio.

1600.  stion till the afternoon. But notwithstanding all their endeavours with his majesty, I continued still in the number of the commissioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquish his reluctance.

BRETONS and Roncas turned themselves on every side, to avoid yielding to a restitution of the marquise; they offered to do homage for it to his majesty, and if that was not sufficient, to hold Bresse upon the same conditions. I easily rendered all these proposals ineffectual, and got it unanimously declared, to give the duke of Savoy this alternative, either to resign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Bresse as far as the river of Dain, the Vicarship of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignerol; in which case, all the towns and fortresses taken on both sides were to be restored*.

THE duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commissioners; but the truth is, they durst not openly oppose a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the resource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in supporting the interests of the duke of Savoy; and were continually representing to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorously with a prince, whose alliance he might purchase at a very inconsiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a siege of no value, and which would be very difficult to preserve. The alternative they offered the duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him six months to come to a resolution: he desired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no necessity for any delay. I went to his majesty to acquaint him with this resolution, which was taken in spite of me, and represented to him the great inconvenience of giving the duke of Savoy so long a time to renew his correspondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced by the discourse of the courtiers on the necessity of granting a delay to the duke of Savoy, asked me how it was possible to do otherwise? "By granting the duke of Savoy, said I, an honourable escort
" of fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty cannon,
" to conduct him to Montmelian, or what other place he shall chuse

* A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commissioners, which it was much suspected the duke of Savoy would not observe, because of the delays he desired: whereupon, as Le-Grain relates it, a certain person proposed to Henry, that the duke of Savoy should be

seized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this proposal was rejected by the king. See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the duke's residence at Paris, in M. De Thou, and Le Septennaire, an. 1599, 1600."

“ to go to, and there oblige him to explain himself upon the alternative that has been proposed to him.” The king did not approve of my advice, his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly persuaded, that, but for this compliance, his majesty might have avoided a war, and have received complete satisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months should be taken from the six that had been agreed upon. 1600.

THE duke of Savoy, finding that his majesty, who was weary of the continual solicitations that were made him on this subject, would no longer answer otherwise than in these few words, *I am resolved to have my marquissate*, set out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time prescribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himself in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occasion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had succeeded. She had undertaken to poison the king*, and thought to have engaged the count of Soissons, who, on all occasions, made known his discontent, in her design; but he conceived so great an horror at it, that he discovered her immediately: she confessed her crime, and was burnt.

NOTHING remarkable happened during these three months, except the dispute between messieurs Du Perron and Du Pleffis. Towards the latter end of the last year, appeared a book † of Du Pleffis upon the eucharist, which was looked upon, by the protestant party, to be a master-piece, and which I sent immediately to the bishop of Evreux,

* By procuring her husband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, by the interest of the count de Soissons, steward of the household. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry, himself at St. Denis, where she kept one of the principal inns during the war. The count of Soissons, to whom she had hinted, that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greatest princes in the world, suspecting that this woman had some bad design, caused Lomenie to conceal himself in a closet, which gave him an opportunity of discovering what means she intended to use. She was accused of practising sorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and somewhat disor-

dered in her senses. Chronologie Septenaire, anno 1600.

† This book is intitled, *Instructions de la sainte eucharistie*, and attacks the mass by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As soon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed against the falshood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du Pleffis to offer a kind of challenge, which those doctors prevailed upon the bishop of Evreux to accept. After several letters and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du Pleffis repented more than once of having gone so far; the king determined that there

1600. who was at his diocese: the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence, which I had ever preserved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of my bishop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this strain. I was greatly surprised to read in the letter he wrote to me, on account of the

should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. Du Perron had expected against. They met in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the king and commissaries appointed by him: those for the catholics were the president De Thou, the advocate Pithou, and the sieur Martin, reader and physician to his majesty; for the calvinists, Fresne-Canaye, and Cafaubon. They met on Thursday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the afternoon. Of sixty one passages which Du Perron sent to his antagonist, the latter was only prepared on nineteen of them, which he had selected from all the rest: as to these, said he to the king, I will lose my reputation or life, if one of them be found false. However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon these nine articles severally, that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du Pleffis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted some of the most material words; in the sixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril; on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text: as to the eighth, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du Pleffis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an &c. between: with regard to the ninth from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for ima-

ges. This was the only conference that was held. Du Pleffis Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the king. Fresne-Canaye one of the commissioners, and Saint Marie du Mont, another eminent protestant, were soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the catholic faith. Du Pleffis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive christians to adore the crosses, and yet he alleged the reproach which the emperor Julian throws on them upon this very account. "It is not very likely," returned the king, "that Julian the apostate would have reproached the christians for adoring the crosses, if they had not actually done so; otherwise he would have exposed himself to be laughed at." It was the king likewise who said, that at least an &c. ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard.

A catholic having observed to a calvinist, that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du Pleffis, No matter, answered the protestant, provided that of Saumur be still left to him. Matthieu, ib. This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical treatises, is generally attested by all our good historians, and even those who treat the protestants most favourably. M. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. p. 843, who was himself one of the commissaries. Matthieu, *ibid.* Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry IV. tom. II. p. 51, &c. Vol. 8778, de la Bibliot. du Roi, Le Grain, and several others, who give us a relation of the whole dispute; so consequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in La Vie de Du Pleffis, liv. ii. p. 269.

book

book I had sent him, that the errors and falsehoods it contained were so numerous, and followed one another so close, that the whole book was justly censurable. “Not that I would accuse monsieur Du Pleffis of insincerity,” added the bishop of Evreux, with equal moderation in his adversary’s regard as politeness in mine, “but I am sorry for his misfortune in having given credit to the confused collections of compilers, who have greatly deceived him.” The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the post of grand master of the ordnance, and assurances of the pleasure it would give him “to see me” he said, “who commanded the cannons of France, obey the canons of the church.”

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I NEVER had so good an opinion of Du Pleffis as the rest of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I would not have chosen to have been security for the exactness of those large volumes, which he sent into the world in so quick a succession, for that on the eucharist had been preceded by a treatise upon the church. To write well, and upon these subjects especially, long reflexion is necessary. This I told the bishop of Evreux in my answer, but at the same time I observed to him, that I could not believe Du Pleffis’s book was, as he said, a series of errors. I told Du Perron, at the same time, that this would be the subject of a great dispute between them, for Du Pleffis would not suffer his accusations to pass unanswered; this was all the serious part of my letter, the rest of it was filled with compliment, praises, and an invitation to visit my new dwelling, which do not deserve to be repeated*.

WHAT I had foreseen happened. However, I had expected only a private not a public dispute. I would have interposed the king’s authority, to have hindered the two champions from proceeding so far, but Du Pleffis was the most difficult† to be persuaded, and persisted in his resolution to measure his weapons with those of the bishop of Evreux. Every one knows how the dispute was terminated. Du Pleffis’s defence was weak, and ended in his disgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his presence, gave a thousand praises to the wit and learning of monsieur d’Evreux. “What do you think of your pope,” said Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Pleffis

* See those letters in the original, tom. II. part 1. p. 52.

† Sir, said Du Pleffis to M. de Rosny, my book is my own child, which I will de-

send, and I intreat you would suffer me to do so: don’t you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

1600. was with the protestants what the pope is amongst the catholics) “ I think, sire,” replied I, “ that he is more a pope than your majesty imagines, for, at this moment, he gives the cardinal’s hat to monsieur d’Evreux. If our religion has not a better foundation than his legs and arms crossed, I would quit it this instant.”

IT was upon this occasion, that his majesty, in a letter to the duke of Epernon, told him, that the diocese of Evreux had vanquished that of Saumur ; that this was one of the greatest advantages, that for a long time had been obtained for the church of God ; and that such a proceeding would draw more protestants to the true church, than a course of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no less singular than the choice Henry made of the duke of Epernon to address it to, made as much noise as the dispute itself, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in such hands. Some said that the king wrote it to destroy the suspicions of his not being a sincere catholic, which, notwithstanding his conversion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jesuits to mention him disadvantageously in their letters to Rome : others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at first perceived, and maintained, that the king had a view in it to persuade either Spain or the protestants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and sanguinary methods with them would be useless.

THE six months that had been given to the duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to satisfy his engagement. His majesty began to think he should obtain nothing but by force ; but, besides the persuasions of his courtiers, who all seemed to have sold their voices to the duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obstacle far more powerful, his fondness for his new mistress, to whom he had given the title of marchioness of Verneuil. He was no longer able to think of a separation, and (it is with some confusion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he should not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him *. She was now with child ; and, having the promise of marriage in her possession, the affair became of great consequence to Henry. Provi-

* She came to meet him at St. André de la Coste. Bassompierre, who was with Henry, says, that the lovers quarrelled at their first meeting, but were soon recon-

ciled : after which, this prince carried his mistress to Grenoble, where he continued with her seven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. I. p. 86, &c.

dence once more interposed in his favour. Madam de Verneuil was so frightened by the thunder during a storm, that she was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he sent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his mistress; but, restored to himself by seasonable reflexions, he continued his rout to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

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I INTENDED to follow, as soon as I had settled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper measures to secure the necessary supplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the king's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except those which were for the support of the frontier garrisons and the payment of the troops, because all others would be immediately discharged at the treasury, to which I ordered all their money to be carried directly. I likewise forbade those that paid rents, to discharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accustomed, such notes as had been revoked or created without money. I raised some militia which I chose rather to incorporate in the old corps, than to compose new regiments of. I applied myself more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I sent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commissioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their best pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and send them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, lest my orders should not be punctually executed, I went myself to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I GAVE the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry, in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thousand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandise it was. They were greatly astonished when they found their loading was twenty cannons, six thousand balls and other things belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alledged, that such heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to seize their carts and horses, and themselves not being willing to lose the expences they had been already at, resolved to do what was required of them: and I had the satisfaction

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1600. to see all this luggage arrive safely in sixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in less than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

IT was always doubted whether the king would seriously renew the war, till his majesty was seen to take his rout to the Alps. The chancellor Bellièvre, who had persisted in his endeavours to dissuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if possible, of the reasons he had against it. I did not regard him as one of those persons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been useless. His sincerity appeared in the manner in which he spoke to me, and the reflexions with which his mind seemed to me to be agitated: the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work so solid as that of the peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he exposed himself: the fear of bringing all the duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppose whom he had an army sufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but consisting only of six or seven thousand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horse, and (for so Bellièvre imagined) destitute of all necessary provisions. This was the sum of the chancellor's objections.

I do not think that, in any passage of these Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, especially since I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the necessity of justifying myself with regard to too great a propensity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occasion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I answer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can suit all cases; and supposing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is also certain that it is often a necessary and even an indispensable evil, when by that only those claims can be supported, which it would be a baseness to renounce; since it must be likewise confessed, that generosity and mildness, two qualities absolutely necessary in sovereigns, yet when employed against the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakness, and are looked upon as instances of bad conduct.

TO this general reply I added the particular reasons for the present war. I shewed the chancellor, that he suffered himself to be unreasonably alarmed: the king of Spain was the only formidable ally, whom
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it might be apprehended would join the duke of Savoy; but it was to be considered, that the reigning king of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, sufficiently employed in reducing his own subjects, and wholly guided by a minister as little inclined to war as himself, by the natural turn of his disposition, and a desire of keeping to himself the money which must be consumed by a war; and lastly, that he bore no good-will to the duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a restitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occasioned by an ill-grounded presumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France: and this presupposed, the success of the war depended upon its being pursued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor, that, with four thousand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thousand the next: but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his majesty was not so unprovided as he imagined, at least, that he should not want for two things, which, in the offices I held, it depended upon me to furnish him with, that is, money and artillery. Bellièvre was so far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will shew which had the best reasons on his side.

THE duke of Savoy seeing that, contrary to his expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourse to his usual artifices, to prevent, at least, any act of hostility before the winter was begun. He sent deputy after deputy to his majesty at Lyons; sometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, sometimes he eluded them by specious reasons, and at other times, he proposed advantageous projects for his majesty, and continued to impose upon this prince so completely, that Henry, believing he should be under no necessity to go farther than Lyons, staid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him against the subtilties of the duke of Savoy; but, as soon as I left him to return to Paris, to hasten, as I have said, the preparations for war, the king was so effectually deceived by the duke's pretended sincerity, that he wrote to me to suspend my cares, for every thing was settled in an amicable manner.

* He was encouraged, it is said, by certain idle predictions of astrologers, who gave out that, in the month of August, there would be no king in France: a thing

that proved very true, says Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

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IN effect, the duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and proposed that hostages should be given on each side; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was necessarily taken up in naming those hostages, and sending them to each other. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not scruple to disobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition *, and came myself to Montargis, from whence I sent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride post myself. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only these few words, "You have guessed truly: the duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as soon as possible, and neglect nothing that is necessary to make him sensible of his perfidy."

I WAS informed more particularly of all that had passed, by a letter from Villeroi. The king had sent for Roncas, from whom he had received so little satisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, resolving to press him in such a manner as to leave him no subterfuge to have recourse to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himself by his equivocations, which threw the king into so great a rage, that he would hear no more, and instantly took his rout towards Chambery; and it was from this place that the abovementioned billet was dated. His majesty imagined that this city would surrender at his approach, and that he should not be at the trouble of investing it; but in this he was mistaken.

THIS interval was employed by the king in soliciting his marriage with the princess Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleasing to the pope, was of service to the king, in hindering his hostilities from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majesty had sent to Rome on this occasion, obtained all that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to send some person to Florence, to solemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earnestly solicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the duke of Florence.

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, betrays, in several places, high encomiums on the duke of Sully, and in a great mea-

sure ascribes to him the honours of that campaign. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 352, 361, 365, &c.

WHILE this ceremony was performing in Florence *, Henry thought it necessary that he should seem wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no less assiduously the whole plan of the campaign; he ordered Lesdiguières to take an exact view of the castle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand discharges, it might be taken, he resolved to attack it. He likewise caused that of Bourg-en-Bresse to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Castenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that the place might be carried, it was resolved to endeavour the taking of these two cities by petard, and in the same night; and in proper time besiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his majesty committed this enterprize, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reserved that of Bourg to himself.

THE king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongst all his general officers, who was the least likely to give success to the enterprize. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at least rough drawn or sketched out by this time. He sent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was designed to surprize him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is singular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the same night that it had been resolved to attack it.

BOUVENS communicated the advice he had received to the garrison and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themselves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps-de-guard, and, in a word, took all possible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the standing sentinel himself. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that marechal Biron, who was himself at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterprize impossible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road so far about, that instead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have persuaded his officers to defer till ano-

* See the whole account of it in *La Chronologie Septennaire*, an. 1600.

1600. *Peter d'Esco-
daca de Bo-
esse.* ther time an attempt which at such an hour was very improper. But his opinion was so strongly opposed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Loustange, Vienne, and particularly by Castenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the bastions should be filled, and likewise by Boësse, to whom his majesty had promised the government of it; that Biron, fearing lest he should incur the imputation of cowardise, and believing that the design would miscarry, was obliged to consent to it.

THE affair turned out quite otherwise: the garrison and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterprise was blasted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfast, and to refresh themselves with sleep; leaving the care of guarding their walls to some centinels, who being oppressed with sleep, acquitted themselves very ill of their charge. Castenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterscarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Castenet, whom I had instructed, answered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertize the governor, that some troops had appeared at the distance of two thousand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to say to monsieur Bouvens from the duke of Savoy; and desired the soldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might be opened. The centinel quitting his post to go to the governor's house, Castenet, without loss of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of short ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with such rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garrison, into the citadel.

THE city of Montmelian * was taken in the same manner; and Chambrery, by his majesty's orders, was invested: the citizens, full of terror, thought not of defending the city, but fortified themselves in the castle, where at first they made a shew of resistance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight

* Consult likewise, on all these military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septen. an. 1600. in which


Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewise tom. I. des Mem. de Bassompierre,

pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durst not stand. By the order his majesty caused to be observed, there was not the least violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their husbands in this expedition, settled at Chamberry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the city, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its master. 1600.

AFTER this, the king sent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furnishing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to visit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint-Catherine, Seissel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluse, and other fortresses of Bresse, particularly the castle of Bourg: he ordered me likewise to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in height and nine in width; upon which I answered him, that such gabions were only proper to make an enclosure for sheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his side, in the mean time, went to possess himself of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of these places held out against the cannon. The taking of Miolens restored liberty to a man who had been detained in the prisons there fifteen years; Feugeres brought him to me on account of the singularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity, and the person by whom he should be delivered; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I LEFT Lyons, to execute the commission his majesty had given me. In the Upper I reached Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where Bresse. I was received and treated with great politeness by marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade me from it; representing to me, that I exposed myself to evident danger. He was certainly right: the enterprise was full of hazard; but it was because that this marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my design, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwise) such exact informations, that where-ever I presented myself I found a battery against me. Notwithstanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finished all my observations.

BIRON, who probably had expected that I should pay the price of my curiosity, finding that I had escaped, laid other snares for me: on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, consisting of two hundred men, had arrived

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A courier from his majesty waited for me at Lyons; his business was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of those little cities which the king had attacked that made any resistance, and which surrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to visit at Saint-Pierre d' Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he should not accomplish so easily his designs upon Charbonnières and the castle of Montmelian; and seemed to make some difficulty about undertaking those sieges at the approach of winter. I assured his majesty, that instead of five months (for so long he imagined the siege of Montmelian would last) it might be ended in so many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I said on this head, and after I had left him said to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my presumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this castle, which had apparently escaped the observation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly.


THE next day, the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his absence to me. During this time, I no longer employed myself in observing Montmelian, under the cannon of which we were, but in making the plan of the out-works, and of the disposition of those batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had passed his

time in deliberating with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbid me absolutely to begin in his absence. I insisted again upon the reasonableness of undertaking it; and again found the same opposition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the duke of Savoy, that the count of Soissons, the duke D'Epemon, La-Guiche, and many others, appeared so unreasonable: amongst all the counsellors, only messieurs de Lesdiguières and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had just finished upon the table, and went out, saying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian should be attacked, I would go and put myself in readiness to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnières, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

1600.

ACCORDINGLY I laid siege to Charbonnières, where I suffered incredible fatigues; the first difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one side by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly steep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, because they were every moment obliged to unharness the cannon, one of the wheels almost always running over the side of the precipice. We were certain at least of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell such violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days, which I had thought sufficient for the taking the place, had been almost wholly consumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuse in the council, against the malicious remark which the count of Soissons and others did not fail to make upon the promise I had given. The king, who that moment looked at me attentively, perceiving that my face was very red, and all overspread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breast, crying, "Ah! my friend, you are very ill." He sent immediately for Du-Laurens*, who, after examining those pimples, said, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myself they would be removed. I had, indeed, over-heated myself with labour; and, when in a violent sweat, had been wet quite through my clothes with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as soon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he

* André Du-Laurens, the king's physician.

1600.  sent Thermines the next day to know how I was ; and was greatly surprised to hear that his messenger had found me on horseback, visiting my batteries.

BEFORE I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little city at the foot of the fort. It seemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general conspiracy against me ; for, as often as I appeared in view, a volley was discharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnières is situated, appearing inaccessible on all sides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted : however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what seemed outwardly a natural rock, might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repressed the joy this discovery gave me, till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkness of the night, and was transported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I desired, and that this bastion was such as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in doubt on what side I should batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out some place proper for erecting these batteries ; for Charbonnières is, indeed, surrounded with mountains that command the town, but so steep that a man can hardly ascend them on foot. I began again to creep along these mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all seemed wholly inaccessible to the cannon, except one, upon the declivity of which, I saw a road where it was not impossible but some pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main strength. Unfortunately the access to this road was by another which passed so near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with stones.

THIS was another obstacle, which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I chose out two hundred French, and as many Swiss, to each of whom I promised a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up six cannon, which I gave them, and mount them on an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly, to make as little noise as possible ; and, to prevent the besieged from observing it, caused horses and carmen to advance in the opposite roads, whose cries and the smacking of the whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that side, but with no effect, for these carts were covered, in their march, by
trees,

trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon, escaped the notice of the besieged, who were deafened with the noise of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée *, lieutenant of the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained so violently, that La Vallée and the rest of the officers left their post to go to supper, and the soldiers their cannon, when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a severe reprimand, threatening them that they should have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that instant to their task, which they resumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I saw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving some check: their delay at length occasioned their being discovered, and six were killed and eight wounded.

1600.

I GOT back to my quarters while it was yet dark, soaked through with the rain, and so disguised with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my six pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I slept an hour, and breakfasted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himself upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he said, ought to have covered him with confusion; but he was the most undaunted liar I ever knew. "What! you have been there "then," said he, without the smallest discomposure. "Well, I sincerely confess I am a fool." "You are so, indeed," replied I, "and something worse, but avoid such a behaviour for the future, and repair your fault." It was not doubted, but the besieged would endeavour to make themselves amends for their being surprised; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my men's labour, without any assistance from the horses, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made provision of gabions, planks, and every thing that was necessary to make platforms there.

BUT, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this stubborn ground was stony, and could not be used for making port-holes and

* Michael de La Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

1600.

platforms, without running the danger of laming all who were employed in the work. The officers, for want of this usual defence, seeing themselves exposed to the whole fire of the place, came, in great consternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they should begin directly the palisade, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick to deprive the enemies, at least of the sight of the cannon, which otherwise, they would be able to dismount; and this was performed immediately, these mountains being almost all covered with wood. To supply the rest, I ordered the carpenters, and pioniers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, some round to fill up the gabions, others square, to make a secure lodgment for the six pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their last situation from the enemy, to which the branches of the palisade greatly contributed, I contrived, that there should be on each side several openings filled with baskets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the palisade the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to dismount the battery of the fort, and throw down the palisade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his majesty came to visit it, and embracing me, assured me of the satisfaction it gave him. He saw no obstacle that should hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I represented to him, that it was still necessary to delude the besieged till night: this prince submitted to my opinion, but the counts of Soissons, d'Epernon, La Guiche, and Villeroi, who followed him, making observations that his cannon was pointed against a rock, on which it would be useless to lose more time, Henry came to me and said, that he would have them fire, that instant, some volleys upon the opposite ravelin: again I contested this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat; for it gave me great uneasiness to see a work, that had cost me so much labour, likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My resistance put Henry into a passion, and he again, and in a very absolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the master. "Yes, sire," replied I immediately, "you are the master, and shall be obeyed, though at the expence of ruining every thing." I caused the palisade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they should fire, but I would not be a witness of it, and withdrew in great discontent. As the guns

were

were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual discharges, the king sent La-Guesle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his majesty would excuse me, for it being now sunset, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His majesty ordered the firing to cease, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midst of my batteries, which I caused to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithstanding the rain that fell in great abundance. The besieged, on their side, laboured as hard, and were not without some apprehensions that they should find the place, to which they gave the most attention, defective: I judged so by the fires and candles which I saw lighted up in the fort, and contented myself with interrupting their security, by firing some discharges from time to time.

1600.

AT the break of day, there arose so thick a fog, that, at six o'clock, the fort could not be seen: this unlucky accident gave me great uneasiness, because all my batteries were ready; and I had boasted over night, that I would take Charbonnières the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occasioned by the cannon, might possibly disperse the fog, and I caused some volleys to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jestingly proposed, succeeded almost beyond my hopes. No sooner had the rest of the artillery answered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly disappeared. The besieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over-against my six, which the imprudence committed the day before had discovered to them, and which, at that instant, they endeavoured to dismount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and caused a piece to be pointed directly opposite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons useless, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their discharge had killed, on our side, six gunners and two pioniers, and at length made our pieces useless, till they were dislodged from thence.

THE king ran thither, upon the noise, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place which I had contrived in such a manner, that he might see every thing that passed without danger. This was an enclosure made with the largest trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I shewed his majesty the bodies of those that had been just killed, and made him sensible, that

1600. this was the consequence of the bad counsel that was followed the day before. I did not say this without design, perceiving that the same persons continued still to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majesty against me. I did not suffer myself to be at all discomposed with their observations, and told them haughtily, that, not having yet eat any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were desirous of playing the grand master of the ordnance, but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleased, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand master, consisted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king sent me a large trout pye, which was sent him from Geneva. My dinner was soon over, and I went again to intreat his majesty that he would suffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promises that I would make him master of Charbonnières that day. The king replied, that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La Guesle said, that, if he was in the place, he should know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then, said I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me pass for a boaster.

THE king then withdrew into his enclosure, and delivered me from the importunate presence of his courtiers for three hours, which he passed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in surveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I saw him come back with the count of Soissons, to whom he said loud enough for me to hear, "This place will not be taken to-day." The count answered, with great complaisance, That his majesty, who had more knowledge of war than any person whatsoever, ought to make use of his authority to force me to obey, instead of wasting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that instant. The king came just at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his majesty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I would have the garrison surrender at discretion. The lieutenant returned with a personated boldness, saying that there were still two hundred men in the fort that were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Lesdigueres and Villeroi with me, who persuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the besieged. Lesdigueres even carried me towards the fort,

to shew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I stopped him when we came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be rashness to expose himself to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces distant, which served me as a shelter, while these gentlemen very unseasonably rallied me for my caution: but they soon changed their tone when a terrible fire obliged them to follow me.

1600.

THE lieutenant of the fort returned a second time, but with proposals little different from the former. I sent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi said, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not dispense with himself from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, sending the besieged my last resolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the second discharge set fire to the powder of the besieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and six or seven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any assistance to the breach, because the cannon, sweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire destroyed some of their best soldiers. This made them resolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I saw their drummer carried up in the air at the height of twelve feet, by a cannon ball which entered the ground where he stood, but did him no other hurt. The besieged then held up a pike, with a flag fastened to the top, crying out that they surrendered, and implored us to cease firing. Yet the artillery continued to play, till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our soldiers, I was afraid some French would be killed amongst them. I then mounted my horse and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by assault; but that heart must be wholly impenetrable to compassion, that could not be softened by a sight so truly pitiable as now presented itself: it was the women, the wounded and scorched by the fire, who came and threw themselves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the sex so lovely as in this city, nor so finished a beauty as one in particular who came to implore my mercy: instead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the same conditions I had offered at first, and caused the garrison to be conducted to a place of security which I had appointed for them.

NOTWITHSTANDING this success with Charbonnières, I still found great opposition in the council to my proposal of attacking the castle of

1600.

of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care what you do," said his majesty to me, carried away by the great number that disapproved of the attempt, "for if we are obliged to raise the siege, every one will exclaim against you, and I possibly shall be amongst the first." They were not sensible at that time what a strong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a siege: what had happened at Charbonnières had so confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not scruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promised in a former council: I stipulated only for one condition, which his majesty could not deny me, because he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he should not be present at the siege. I foresaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the city, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I should make the attempt, I laid siege to the castle of Montmelian.


THIS castle is situated on a rock almost as hard as that of Charbonnières, and so high, that it commands the whole country about it; steep and inaccessible on all sides except that next the city, where the ascent is less difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itself, and which must have been done with infinite labour with the point of a sharp chissel; besides which, there were three bastions, that could neither be sapped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itself, almost impenetrable, and above a toise and a half deep. The country is strewed with several mountains, but some are so distant, that they appeared to be absolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are nearest are so steep and pointed at the top, and so rugged and bare, that far from being possible to carry up and make use of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The castle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thousand vollies at least, a proportionable garrison, and ammunition in great abundance.

THE first thought that occurred to my mind, and supported it against obstacles in appearance unsurmountable, was, that however solid and continued the rock seemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the bastions were raised, it was not possible that it should be all of equal hardness; and if one part of it only was ever so little weaker than the rest, the artillery I had would secure me the means of opening a passage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the bastion called Mauvoisin; for otherwise it would have been impossible

impossible to have approached near enough to discern whether this whole mass was an entire rock, cut with a chissel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us, from carrying on the trenches. 1600.

I WAS obliged to have recourse to artifice; and one very dark night caused a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this bastion, and so low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon: it was shot through and through with the small arms as soon as the day discovered it to the besieged; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I suffered the enemy to discharge their rage for some days upon this hut, till of themselves they should cease to fire; which at length they did, supposing it had been built there to make them spend their powder in vain. When I found the besieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occasion, I could entirely cover my body against the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole bastion; I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into so deep. Without doubt the besieged were then making some repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewise that the flank was uncovered; and this was proof that it was not a solid rock that formed either; and that this flank presented itself naked, and easy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now satisfied, and had no other care but how to get out safely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces distant from the parapet, which was lined with soldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could shelter myself. I seized that moment when the guards being relieved the soldiers began to be careless, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as fast as I was able; four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the same time; their musquet-shot whistled about my ears and covered me with gravel and flint stones, but did not wound me; before the other soldiers were ready, I had gained the nearest lodgment.

I HAD at first resolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the side of the Isere, where they might be carried up more easily by the help of steps cut by the hands of men; but having observed, on the opposite side of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be seen the road that led to the wells of the castle, and to the magazine, the entrance.

1600.  trance of the donjon, and the guard-house: I preferred this last, and considered upon the means to carry up six pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly steep on all sides but one, and even on this side of the ascent was a league about: but this was not the greatest difficulty; to plant them there we must level rocks of such hardness, that most of the officers thought the enterprize ridiculous.

THE enemies were not of the same opinion: as soon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed six pieces of cannon there likewise, and made a continual fire: the first volley was shot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my staff of command in my hand, dressed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I observed that this shot had passed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below: perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I said to Lefine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both, and that, without doubt, the besieged having perceived me would take an exact aim. I retired two or three steps behind a shelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand fixed in the place where I had stood myself; one ball threw down the pike, the others killed three pioniers and two gunners, and broke some glasses and bottles that had been brought for a refreshment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majesty, as an instance of rashness in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my person being still more necessary to him for the business of the state than war, he desired that I would not act like a meer soldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raise; and that he would recal me, if I disobeyed this command.

HENRY could not resist the desire he had to see the disposition of this siege, and wrote to me a second time, desiring I would dispense with the promise he had given me to the contrary, assuring me, that he would go to those places only that I should appoint, and with no other attendants than the count of Soissons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and me. I entreated him at least to disguise himself in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to shun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field, strewed over with flint stones, opposite to which the besieged kept a party of thirty or forty soldiers continually, armed with musquets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, because they knew that our men passed every moment through this field, to go to
the

the new battery raised upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this request; but when he was upon the spot, he could not resolve to use this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some musquet-shot that we were exposed to at first made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worse when we entered the field; there was at once so terrible a discharge of the heavy cannon and small-shot, that we saw ourselves in a moment all covered with earth, and our skin scratched with a shower of those little flint-stones. Henry making the sign of the cross, "It is now, said I, that I acknowledge you to be a "good catholic." "Let us go, said he, this is a bad place." We doubled our pace, esteeming it a singular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at least lamed. No one thought of returning the same way, but took the road from the mountains, where I caused horses to be brought for the company.

THE king was a little ashamed of his unnecessary rashness, which was the cause, that some days afterwards, when I sent him notice that all my batteries were finished, his majesty, who was then returned to the Tarantaife, having an inclination to see them, ordered me to make a truce for some hours with the governor. The king's curiosity being satisfied, I was seized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand master exercising his office in the royal presence; but as this could not be done without a discharge of the artillery, which would have been considered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the besieged to break it I ordered some commissaries to send certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occasion for there. The enemy, who had not lost any part of their fierceness, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-shot. I had given my men orders, in case this happened, to hold themselves in readiness to answer them immediately by a general discharge. This was the first, and afforded matter for serious reflection to the besieged, when they saw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the first to demand a continuation of the truce; especially when a second discharge succeeded so rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately sought out ways to procure an honourable composition.

1660.

Two women were by chance the first movers * of this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the castle, amused herself with making little glass toys and pieces of chair-work. My wife being then in the city, she sent her a pair of ear-rings and two chains of exquisite workmanship. Madam de Rosny, in return, sent her wine and venison, and desired to know if it was not possible for them to see each other: they obtained permission for it, and passed three afternoons together with such familiarity, that at length they began to consider how Montmelian might be surrendered with honour. They acquainted their husbands with the subject of their conversations, who were so far from opposing them, that they were authorised to go on, each concealing from the other that she acted by permission. Madam de Brandis had an indisposition that made the country air necessary for her. Her husband thought he could procure this favour through the interposition of my wife; and she made so reasonable a representation to him of the condition to which he would be soon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he consented to treat with me, and sent me a deputation for that purpose. I dispatched notice of it to the king, who proposed it to his council; and it was there resolved, that a month should be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place should be surrendered. I was very sure that it could not hold out so long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful sincerity of an enemy to grant such conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpose to oppose a resolution in which envy had as great a share as fear.

THE king did not begin to repent of having followed the counsels of marechal Biron and d'Epemon rather than mine, till, a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the besieged, a report was spread, that an army of twenty-five thousand men was coming over the Alps to their assistance. The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was sensible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him such a fortress as Montmelian. He asked me if by some means or other there was not a possibility of putting him in possession of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheless accomplished, and in this manner.

* The historian who has given us the *Life of the duke d'Epemon*, ascribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

EVER since the suspension of arms, the count of Brandis suffered all strangers to enter his castle who brought provisions and necessaries which the wounded, and even madam de Brandis herself, had occasion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the crowd was often so great that some blows passed between them; for which the governor could not chastise them, because there were a great many Frenchmen amongst them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I sought for. I placed a guard of fifty chosen men at the gate of the castle, commanded by officers, who, being informed of my design, accustomed the guards of the castle to see them enter it at first three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garrison not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themselves almost masters of the castle itself, without giving them any assistance; but, on the contrary, instead of lessening the disorder, these French did all they could to increase it. 1600.

BRANDIS imputed all to the licentiousness of the soldiers, and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all these strangers, whom I supposed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done so, but for the great number of my soldiers that were amongst them; and that rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he chose to confide to me the care of putting an end to the disorder. I seemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I most ardently wished) only to restore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could easily accomplish it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he consented to it, and I caused fifty soldiers to enter; but these were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had slipped in with them; I came thither myself likewise, with all my train: and from that time our party was so strong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our disposal.

BRANDIS then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwise than by shewing himself still more generous. He came to me and told me, that he consented I should take possession of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the security of my word. I resolved not to abuse his confidence, and faithfully observed all the articles. I supped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commission from the king, I

1600. went to tell him, that without any fears from Montmelian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be false.

THE garrison of Montmelian marched out after the month was elapsed, and yielded the place to his majesty, who commanded me to settle Crequy there with his company. The garrison was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have persuaded the king to have dismantled this place, as it must undoubtedly be restored to the duke of Savoy in case of a peace; and to have done the same by all the other conquered fortresses: but the advice of the courtiers, who all seemed to be in the pay of the duke, saved Montmelian from a treatment that good policy required.

THE mystery of this conduct with regard to Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the discovery of some letters of marshal Biron in cyphers: he told the duke of Savoy, to whom they were addressed, that he had obtained a month for the garrison of Montmelian, to give him time to raise the siege: that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unless he made an effort to save this place, which could hold out three months longer; and assured him, that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the castle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in succouring it had silenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared against the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do so with safety. Notwithstanding the caution he observed in not writing their names, they were all so well described that it was not difficult to know them. The silence I keep with regard to these names, is only in favour of some whom the public perhaps has not suspected.

MONTMELIAN was not yet surrendered, when it was known in the French army that cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his majesty concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot, and 500 troopers, all spruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the grand master of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian. The truce affording me an opportunity

portunity to make use of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occasion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour: the signal was given by a white flag raised on the battery of the rock: mine began after a great fire of the small-shot, and was answered by that of the castle, in such a manner, that both having time to load again, this double discharge of an hundred and seventy cannons, performed with the utmost regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidst the mountains, had the noblest effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than soothed, by an honour so magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had several times recourse to the sign of the cross.

1600.

I CARRIED the cardinal to dinner at Notre Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the business he mentioned to me; one was, that he should give no credit to any of those persons who would make a boast to him of their interest with his majesty; the other, that if they promised him to get all the places taken from the duke of Savoy to be restored without being demolished, he should believe them still less, for he might be assured this would never happen. After this caution, I resigned him freely to those sent by his majesty to fetch him, and continued my hostilities, by besieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint-Catherine.

THE latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the city of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is situated on a rising ground, in an open field, of which it seems to be the centre, marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, asked me to go that instant, on horseback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gayly dressed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the marechal was mounted on a white horse, and wore a large plume of feathers of the same colour. "Nô, no, said he, you need not be under any apprehension: morbieu! they will not dare to fire upon us." "Let us go then, replied I, if you will, for if it rains upon me it will sprinkle upon you." Accordingly, we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and observed it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of small-shot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horse; which surprised me greatly. "Certainly, sir, said I to the marechal, there is no one within, or they are asleep, or afraid of us." The king could with difficulty

1600. difficulty believe this, because being there himself the day before, with six horse only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with so great a noise of the artillery, that the king sent Montespau thither, believing it was a fally. "Whom are these fellows aiming at?" said Montespau to me, finding no-body in sight. "At me, I believe, replied I, but I have seen all that I wanted to see." However, I guessed soon after the reason of that respect which they shewed marshal Biron. I perceived that the flank of the bastions of Saint-Catherine were so bad that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I assured his majesty, that as soon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would surrender. In effect, the besieged, who were likewise in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not succoured in six days.

AFTER I had opened the trench, I desired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horse, and came very seasonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the presence of a great number of catholics within their walls occasioned. Messieurs de Guise, d'Elbeuf, d'Epemon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their several followers. I assured them, that his majesty had their interest at heart, and that I would not leave them while those gentlemen continued amongst them: but the remembrance of the late persecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be satisfied till I had removed the occasion of their fears; which I did that evening by speaking to those gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their minister, at their head, to compliment his majesty, and to endeavour to obtain a request that they kept very secret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were most ardently desirous of. Beza delivered himself like a man of sense, and one who knew how to praise with delicacy; congratulating the protestants upon the happiness which the reign of so good a prince promised them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to bestow upon it any of his conquests which should be most convenient for it; and preventing their request, told them in a low voice, that they should have the pleasure to be masters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my presence (for he

held me by the hand at the same time) that no intreaties whatsoever should hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleased. 1600.

HIS majesty, at cardinal Aldobrandin's request, consented that the conferences on the subject of a peace should be held at Lyons, and named the cardinal Du-Perron, the constable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen* arrived in that city. As soon as the king was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and set out in very rainy weather, riding post, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with the rain, and almost perished with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majesty, that he might have the pleasure of surprizing the queen, would not suffer himself to be named. They had not yet seen each other. The marriage ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended

* This princess left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an escort of seventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence she came by the way of Marseilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived post on the 9th of November. As soon as he alighted (I take the following account from the most authentic Memoirs of those times) the queen happened to be at supper; and having a desire to see her at table without being discovered, he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crowded; but he was known the moment he appeared by those nearest the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his majesty went away directly, without going farther. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but still gave no other signs than by putting the plates away as often as she was served with any thing, and eat so little, that she seemed to have sat down rather for form's sake than to sup. After the table was removed, she returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked so hard, that the queen thought it must be the

king: upon this she slept forward at the very instant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majesty, at whose feet she immediately threw herself. The king raised her up, embraced her with great tenderness, and all that was polite, passionate, and respectful, passed on both sides. After the first compliments were over, the king took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to supper, but eat very sparingly. In the mean time, he bid madam de Nemours tell the queen, that he had not provided himself with a bed, expecting she would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nemours carrying this message to the queen, she returned for answer, That she had come thither only to obey his majesty as the humblest of his servants. Upon this, the king undressed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. *Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600.* where also may be seen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. *De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.*

the

1600. the king at supper, who afterwards dismissed us to refresh ourselves likewise; and he retired to the queen's apartment.

HIS majesty's arrival only increased the warmth with which they contested the articles of the peace: the plenipotentiaries were almost all in the duke of Savoy's interest, and glad of an opportunity to make their court to the legate; which was the cause that Henry thought it necessary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and severely blamed the commissioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villeroi had promised the legate, that none of the fortresses that had been taken should be demolished, but especially Saint-Catherine, for which the legate particularly solicited, as being the best, and even the only bulwark the duke of Savoy had against the republic of Geneva. Henry made them sensible, that their precipitation in subscribing to an article of this importance without consulting him, had given him some suspicion of them; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then sending for me, he told me, that the shortest way to prevent the solicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five bastions of the fort, and to send word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiously nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials so carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place; and at first the report ran, that it was destroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expressed great resentment at it, and did not scruple to confess, in the heat of his passion, that I was the only person who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not sufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commissioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was intirely broke off; and when it was afterwards resumed, it was with so much animosity on his eminence's part, that he rejected all the propositions that were made him. These propositions were, That the duke of Savoy should yield to the king the course of the river Rhone and its borders: That he should not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards passage: That he should leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages specified likewise: That Béche-Dauphin should be demolished, Chateau-Dauphin

phin restored : and lastly, that the duke should pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns for the expences of the war.

1600.

THE king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obstinacy of the legate, resolved to carry on the war more vigorously than before, and communicated his design to me, which was, to go in search of the duke of Savoy at the head of his army ; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obstacles to this double project, besides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterprize on Bourg very difficult to be executed, the season being now so far advanced : the difference between this castle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for those that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten such places as Bourg, because that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery sufficient to batter the out-works ; but for an army sixty cannon strong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg ; because this last being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically and by slow degrees. Had the counsel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the surrender of Montmelian, been followed, it would have been now in the king's possession.

WITH regard to this prince, his perplexity was occasioned by his knowing in what manner the greatest part of his general officers conspired with Spain and the duke of Savoy against him : he had great reason to be apprehensive of engaging himself in the enemy's country, if they were with him : Lesdiguières was the only one on whom he could depend ; he had lately given an instance of his fidelity, in sending notice by Calignon, that the duke of Bouillon made use of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correspondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himself of his commission, Ondevous would not have had time to escape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the schemes of the seditious ; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Lesdiguières. I advised the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him still closer to his service, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the rest, it was easy to prevent the consequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a distance from the body of the army.

1600. BUT the affair that appeared most pressing to us both, being to procure a supply of money, it was resolved that I should set out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to pass six entire weeks there, I employed these four days in making all the necessary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the soldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the king's household. The very next day I sent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I proposed, as soon as I arrived, to send them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, because that my measures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

WHEN I went to take leave of the king, he advised me to visit the legate also before I set out, he having always expressed great esteem for me. I went to visit him booted, my post-horses waiting for me on the other side of the river, opposite to his lodgings. He asked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy, replied I, and I shall go with good company to kiss the pope's foot." "How! to Italy," said he, in great amazement: "no, that must not be, sir; I beg you will assist me to renew this peace." I seemed to consent, in respect only to his mediation, the king having laid aside all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already proposed, and afterwards asked him if he would give credit to what I was going to say to him? Having assured me he would, I told him, that he might be absolutely certain, that of these articles, his majesty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; because that I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all these respects. He desired to know my reasons: which I excused myself from telling him, on account of the short time I had to stay. After walking, thoughtfully, several times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he asked me if, with the same protestation of sincerity, I would assure him, that, provided he agreed to all these points, there should be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promise this. Upon which, he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had said. Henry was glad to see me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his majesty. And we concluded

concluded * that instant a treaty which had languished so long a time; 1600.
 the conditions of which were as follows.

THE duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquissate of Saluces, which the king of France gave up, was to make a cession to his majesty of the fortresses of Cental, Monts, and Roquesparviere, all Bresse entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both sides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and some passages necessary for his highness to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this cession to acquire a right to raise any tribute from these places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permission, and on condition that for this privilege of passing the bridge of Grezin the duke should pay France one hundred thousand crowns: That he should likewise resign to his majesty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwick of Getx, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné on this side the Alps: That he should likewise renounce the property of Aus, Choufy, Vally, Pont d'Arley, Seissel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin should be raised: That the king should on his side restore all the other places he had taken that are not specified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals and prisoners of war that had fled on either side, church benefices, exchange of estates between private persons, &c. It was article'd for the duke of Nemours, part of whose estate lay in this country, that he should not be disturbed in the possession of it, neither for the part which held of the king, nor for that which held of his highness. The other clauses common to all treaties I shall not mention.

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty was signed by me for the king, by the legate for the pope, and the duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the count of Fuentes, put off so long the entire conclusion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it necessary not to lay down his arms: he took post to Paris †, where he waited for the duke's determinations.

* M. De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See also the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775, &c.

† “ He departed, says Bassompierre,

“ one night post from Lyons, in order
 “ to return to Paris; and embarking at
 “ Rouanne he landed at Briare; from
 “ whence he came to lye at Fontaine-
 “ bleau, and next day dined at Ville-

1600.

IN case there should be a necessity for his returning into Savoy, he had certain measures to take for the affairs within his kingdom, and in Paris especially, at a time when every place was filled with ill-intentioned persons. He left the constable and Lesdiguières, till his return, with some good troops upon that frontier; and Villeroy and two or three other commissioners at Lyons, to conclude the business of the peace.

BUT his majesty found no occasion to return into these provinces. The duke of Savoy, after having long amused himself with expectations from the disaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already lost by his obstinacy, he thought himself very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the last formalities were added, and the peace was published at Paris and Turin with the usual ceremonies: however, the articles were not executed without many difficulties being raised by the duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroy at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great interest in the affair, even advised the duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the treaty. On all these occasions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He granted all the delays which the duke of Savoy, by count Octavio Tassone, engaged the legate to demand; which was contrary to Villeroy's advice: but his majesty having in reality obtained all that he could demand, thought he ought not to observe too rigorously the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for such a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the king as any war ended in a single campaign could possibly do. His majesty declared, that Bresse should not be comprehended in the district of Lyons, but that it should be re-united to Burgundy, and be under the jurisdiction of the court of aides of Paris.

THE queen did not set out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a bastard of the family of Medicis,

“neuve; and crossing the Seine below the Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis.) We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.—At length the queen arrived at Nemours; and the king,

“having rode post with sixty fresh horses, came and carried her to Fontainebleau, where after staying five or six days, she arrived at Paris, and was accommodated with apartments at the house of Gondy.”
Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. I. p. 89, 90.

Virgilius

Virgilius Urfinus her cousin, who being brought up, while young, with her had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both sexes were in her train; amongst others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigai, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry *, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the arsenal to dine with me; the queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleased with the wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was necessary. I had some excellent white wine that was as clear as rock water: I ordered some decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies asked for water to temper the burgundy, they were presented with this liquor. The king suspected by their gaiety that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleasure, on account of the king's marriage.

IN Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence; prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May against the arch-duke Albert, in which the † admiral of Castile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken prisoner. He afterwards laid siege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raise it. All I shall say of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general there by imperial majesty. I suppress a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the secular ‡ jubilee at Rome, and shall conclude the Memoirs of

* It does not appear that this princess was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, says the *Chronologie Septennaire*, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addressed the king for that purpose, but his majesty chose rather that the expence of the entry should be laid out on other things that were more necessary. It afterwards adds: Upon her arrival at the postern-gate of the suburb St. Marcel, the marquis de Rosny caused all the cannon of the arsenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the suburb St. Germain, at Gondy's house, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. Ibid.

† This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards lost 8000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheless obliged to raise the siege of Nieuport and retire to Holland. The greatest part of these foreign transactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our Memoirs; and I therefore think it unnecessary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the Memoirs and Histories of that time. In like manner consult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

‡ It was said, that 300,000 French, men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; consequently

1600. this year with an incident that afforded matter for much serious reflection upon duels: Breauté having * killed his adversary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards assassinated himself.

cerning which, see the ceremonies in La Septennaire, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

* Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horse in the service of the States; his antagonist was a Flemish foldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boisleduc, with whom he fought a singular kind of combat, of twenty French against the same number

of Flemish; he had the advantage in the first encounter, in which he killed his antagonist, but was made prisoner in the second, and put to death by order of the governor of Boisleduc. He was one, says the author of the Chronologie Septennaire, that eagerly fought after occasions of duelling, for which reason he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XII.

IN the foregoing book I finished the last military narration that will be found in these Memoirs, in which at least France was concerned. The life of Henry the great, hitherto wholly passed amidst the tumult of arms, will in the sequel exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by these ancient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not subsist as long as his majesty pleased, I resumed, by his orders, and under his inspection, those schemes with regard to the finances that the war had suspended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the representation I have already given of the state of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to consider the life which the prince and myself now embraced as idle and inactive: if it is less noisy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again shut up in my closet, where I applied myself with the utmost attention to the examination of all the abuses that still remained to be rooted out of the chamber

1601.

1601. chamber of accounts *; the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the aids, the subsidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the rest. I laboured at once for the present and the future, by taking such measures, that the method I established in the direction of every part of the finances should not be afterwards subject to any alterations. I considered of means to enrich the king without impoverishing his subjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and strove, with still more assiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make provision of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, such as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no less honour upon the sovereign than the splendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpose I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for those uses to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been used in the management of these funds.

THE scheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general state, which should lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, seemed always so happy a thought, and so proper to bring them to the utmost exactness, that wherever this method was practicable I made use of it. On the first day of this year, when I presented to the king the gold and silver medals, as usual, I gave him at the same time five of these general states, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the first, which was of the greatest importance, because I there gave an account of all that concerned myself as superintendant, was set down on one side, all the money that was raised in France by the king from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection, and consequently all that was to be brought clear into his majesty's coffers. I cannot persuade myself that this method was never thought of by any one since the finances were subject to some regulation; but interest alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I shall always insist upon it, that without this guide there is no proceeding without mistakes or querry.

THE second of these states was drawn up merely for the use of the keeper of the royal treasury; here was set down, whence and upon

* As to these reformatations, consult likewise Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 444.

what account he received all the king's money that passed through his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to disburse out of the whole sum, and for what purposes. The third was compiled for the use of the master of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and sorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of instruments of war, and provisions of victual, laid up in different places, or magazines; the state of the arsenals and fortified places, and other observations of the same sort. The fourth related to the chief surveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money disbursed or to be disbursed for the repair of every thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the king or of the provinces. And, to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and castles, particularly those on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works necessary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural situation and present state.

1601.

THE king, upon my representation, reformed many abuses with respect to money, which had caused a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief instrument; the first was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to interest at eight, or even at ten *per Cent.* * a practice of equal mischief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, because they being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high interest; to the people, because, by putting out money to interest, they made as great profit by sitting still as by labour, and thereby kept immense sums of money useless to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by some means advantageous to the commonwealth. The interest of eight *per Cent.* was abolished, and six *per Cent.* allowed in its stead.

THE coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and passed in commerce equally with that of our own sovereign. A prohibition was issued, by which all money was put down but the coin

* It is thus that a prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and superior skill in politics, has judged: being firmly persuaded, that the state would receive great advantages in every respect from a regula-

tion that would oblige monied men to betake themselves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferable to the bare and dead produce of rents.

1601.

of France *, that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much missed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more necessary to rid ourselves of the merchandise of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much mischief was done by foreign stuffs, particularly those of gold and silver. The importation of these, and of all others, was forbidden under severe penalties: and because France had no means of supplying herself with them out of her own stock, we had recourse to the true remedy, which is, to do without them; the use of all stuffs wrought with gold and silver being forbidden by an edict †.

ALL these declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any species of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiscation of all that should be intercepted in the carriage, and likewise of all the estates of the offenders, as well those that favoured as those that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made, not to grant any pardon for this sort of misdemeanors; and even to hold all those suspected that should dare to solicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige those persons that carried on such practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obstinate evil than all the threats that had been published against it. I was not ignorant that a great many very considerable persons, and even amongst the courtiers themselves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by suffering this money to pass under their names, or by selling, at a high price, the authority which enabled them to

* It is true, that the species of foreign gold and silver coin ought not to pass current and be confounded with that of the prince in interior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more such coin abounds among our own money, the more flourishing will our commerce be? The historian Matthieu observes, tom. II. l. iii. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almost entirely; and the duke of Sully himself agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourse to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this question with him, when he

comes to handle it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of using gold and silver in cloaths and household furniture, we shall also have occasion, in the sequel, to give our opinion on the principles he establishes with regard to luxury.

† He shewed, by his example, how to retrench the superfluity of dress, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a pourpoint of sattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery: he commended such as dressed in that plain fashion, and ridiculed others, who carried, said he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. *Persef. part iii.*

correspond with the foreigners, and secured the privileges of passage. I thought it most prudent to apply myself to those who were employed by them for these correspondences, and promised them that, as a recompence for their discovery, they should have the fourth part of those sums that were seized by their informations; for the king having made over these confiscations to me, I had a right to dispose of them. By these means I was well served. 1601.

A MONTH was scarce elapsed, when I received notice from an inconsiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themselves known, that there were two hundred thousand crowns in gold collecting to send abroad, which was to be sent at two different times, and that the first carriage would be much less than the second. After having taken all the necessary precautions, this sum appearing rather too considerable for me, I thought myself obliged to mention it to the king, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the sum did not exceed ten thousand crowns, I might appropriate it to myself, but that the overplus should be his, "Which will come, said he, very seasonably, having had some loss at play that I durst not tell you of, nor make up with my own money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the second carriage. I ordered the first to be dogged, and with such vigilance, that it was stopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, though but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furnishing the offenders with a pretext for getting it released. There was found in pistoles, double pistoles, and crowns of the sun, to the amount of eight and forty thousand crowns, which had been concealed in some bales of common goods for exportation. The king's resolution on this article was so well known, that the conductors named no person as proprietor of it; and notwithstanding all the noise this seizure made at court, it was disavowed by every one; and the sum was, by his majesty, divided in this manner: seventy-two thousand livres he reserved for himself, five and twenty thousand he ordered should be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-seven thousand he left to me; promising me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general dislike to so ruinous a traffic.

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THOSE that composed the chamber of justice * which was erected against the contractors, treasurers, receivers; and others who had been guilty of misdemeanors in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to exercise far greater severities. It was my advice, that these offenders should not only be obliged to refund, but that those who were convicted of embezzling the public treasure should be corporally punished. Money, however, the possession of which covers all crimes it is the cause of, excepted this from the just rigor of the law †. I would, were it possible, transfuse into the breasts of my countrymen some part of that indignation that fills mine, against so pernicious an abuse, and all that contempt which I feel for those that owe their elevation to it. If we consider as a slight matter, the despicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this shameful custom (for none strikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourselves the evils it has given rise to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and disinterestedness, or to turn those virtues into ridicule; nothing has more strengthened that fatal propensity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a second nature, by that peculiarity of temper which makes us fasten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our passions; and nothing in particular has so greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of business, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almost the only method of arriving at the highest honours, and first employments of the state, in the possession of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted.

To go to the source, military virtue is almost the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preserved, or dignified :

* Otherwise called the royal chamber : it consisted of a president of the parliament of Paris, two counsellors, two masters of request, a president and four counsellors of the chamber of accounts, a president and three counsellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commissioners were sent into the provinces, to give them informations of such as were guilty of any malversations.

† The duke of Sully seems to me to reason justly, when, in supposing the utility

of the chambers of justice, he requires, that they should not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to these corporal punishments. And he seems to me to have still greater reason, when, in the sequel, he advises to suppress this method as absolutely useless; and entirely abolish, in France, the usage of compositions in farming the finances : and this is likewise the opinion of cardinal Richelieu. Testament Polit. part I. ch. iv. § 5.

and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be considered, that precedence must naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other classes of the community are preserved and supported in that security without which there can be no property: but this state of life is not the way to a great fortune; this simplicity and separation from lucrative purposes shew the antiquity and purity of the first institution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, because in those times honour was the only reward of glorious actions: in later days, since the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in comparison with the managers of the revenue, the officers of justice, and the drudges of business. But this comparison terminates in a universal agreement, to pay to these gatherers of money that respect which must always be shewn to those who are possessed of power, and are, in fact, our superiors, an advantage which the former have lost*. And, indeed, how should it be other-

* The same cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuse, and proposes a remedy for it, according to the duke of Sully's scheme. "Gentlemen, says he, cannot be promoted to places of trust and dignity, but at the expence of their ruin; for at present all sorts of people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried on by means of money. For the future, all persons should be excluded from those posts, but those that have the good fortune to be of noble birth." This minister concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully, "That the means of continuing the nobility in that purity of manners which they derive from their ancestors (these are his words) is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expence which have been gradually introduced." Part I. ch. iii. § 1. However, the impartiality which I profess obliges me to agree, that the notions of the duke of Sully are overstrained; and that in this passage there is a little of what may be called invective and idle declamation. I anticipate a remark, which we shall have occasion to make in what follows, and that is, the alterations which have happened in the political state of Europe from different conjunctures, and especially from the spirit of commerce, which at this day seems to

animate it, have obliged states to recede a little from these old maxims which relate to luxury and expence; and therefore what follows seems to me to be the most reasonable method upon the whole. It is true, that that profession which has for its end the defence of the state, ought to be in the possession of its principal dignities; or, which is much to the same purpose, all manner of regard, honour, and respect, should be paid to them. The duke of Sully has therefore good reason to observe, that of all the professions this has most to fear from luxury and effeminacy. Hence that reluctance officers shew to reside with their regiments: and that aversion of the young nobility to a study, which ought entirely to engage their attention. Hence that Asiatic pomp of high living, and those excessive pleasures into which armies are usually plunged. Hence it follows, that soldiers, who from their youth have been only habituated to debauchery, are unable to undergo the fatigues and inconveniences of a campaign. And, lastly, we will farther agree with M. de Sully, that the abuses accruing from unequal marriages, are at this day carried to an almost shameful height; and that, in general, we have too much neglected a piece of policy, which has always been looked upon, and that with very good reason,

1601. wife, when we see the nobility of the same mind, with regard to this point, as the meanest of the people, and making no scruple to mingle the most illustrious blood in a shameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his shop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuse is necessarily productive of two others, confusion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which last is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongrel gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we shall find them wholly destitute of the plain and manly virtue of their ancestors: no depth of thought, solidity of judgment, rash, inconsiderate, a strong passion for play, a natural propensity to dissoluteness, a solicitude for dress, and vitiated taste in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet these people engage in the army, but with such dispositions, to which is often added a secret contempt for the profession they embrace, what can be expected from them? This subversion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profession, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the highest rank, and dignified with the chiefest

son, as one of the principal foundations of the strength of a state, a strict attention in making matrimony be honoured and respected. But after all these concessions, we must likewise agree, that one of the chief cares of a sovereign being to maintain and strengthen unanimity between his subjects, by banishing jealousies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animosities of the several orders towards each other, and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flourishing, the greatest part of the maxims laid down with this view are unsupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themselves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade, as a means without which it will henceforth be impossible for the great families to support themselves? We will resume the handling this subject pretty often; but it is certain, in general, that a moderate degree of attention is sufficient to make it plain, that the maxims of government, as to politics and com-

merce, should not at present be absolutely the same as they were a thousand years ago. It may be imagined, that as to the alterations necessary to be made in all these respects, we could not do better than rely upon the various conjunctures, and the natural dispositions, which render all mankind so clear-sighted with regard to their own interest and welfare. However, a fatal experience has but too well taught us, how dangerous it is to leave to the giddy multitude the choice of the means how to arrive at it. Of these alterations there are some which ought to accompany, or follow, and be naturally subordinate to, each other; a thing which the rabble can neither discern nor relish. There is in every thing excess or abuse which they can neither foresee nor prevent. And this is the great point in the art of government, an art which requires continual application and attention. The hand of the pilot is not necessary to bear up the vessel upon the waves; but without it, she will in the end be dashed against rocks, or at least never be able to reach her wished for port.

honours, which, for that purpose, ought to be taken from the upstarts of fortune; and since the infamy which we should find these creatures of chance stained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not sufficient to draw our contempt, it is necessary they should be branded with public marks of disgrace, to signify the rank they ought to hold. 1651.

THE king was convinced by the justness of this reasoning. However, in this chamber of justice, the same thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the rest; the principal delinquents found their security in that very metal for which they were prosecuted; they made use of a small part of it in presents, which saved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the queen herself; they gained the constable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and some others, who, though not of this high class, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; such were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that sort. The complaisance of this prince for all those whom he suffered to live in some degree of familiarity with him, and especially for ladies, destroyed all his fine resolutions, so that the storm fell only upon those that had reason to reproach themselves with not having yet stolen enough to put their thefts in security. The retrenching of part of those officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of justice. The great number of those officers, as well as their extreme licentiousness, are indubitable testimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a state and the forerunners of its ruin.

IN May the king and queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majesties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau, from whence they proceeded that evening to Puiseaux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to visit the lands of Baugy, which had been just awarded to me by a decree, for the great sums which were due to me from these lands, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiscated money I have lately mentioned. I was stopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his majesty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king which contained only these few words. "I gave you six days for your journey to Baugy, but I have received
" letters

1601. " letters of great consequence from Buzenval, which I want to shew
 " you ; you will oblige me if you will come and lie to-night here at
 " Puiseaux, whither you need bring no necessaries. I have given
 " orders for your lodging, and sent thither my hunting bed, and have
 " ordered Coquet to get your supper ready, and your breakfast in the
 " morning, for I will detain you no longer. Adieu, my beloved friend."

I WISHED my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and, taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puiseaux, where I found the king, who was amusing himself with making the youth of his train wrestle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As soon as he saw me, he called Pasquier, who had been sent to him by Villeroi with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that prince Maurice had taken the field with his army which he had increased with garrisons drawn out of their quarters, and escorted by two thousand waggons: that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the prince of Orange's officers, and from the prince himself) to cross Brabant, the country of Liege, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected assistance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld those preparations with astonishment, and durst not oppose his march, but that he contented himself with being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compass, and that while he obstructed him he might be himself near the place where he perceived the storm would fall; that, finding this step, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was necessary to inform the king of it.

THE knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this design of the prince of Orange appear to me so dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy and upon their frontiers, through countries so full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liégeois, that I thought them impassable for such a number of waggons; and the king was of the same opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he resolved to send prince Maurice his sentiments of it, and I resumed my route to Baugy, in which I visited the lands of Sully, that I had a design of purchasing, and did so accordingly the following

following year. The king continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the first stone for the rebuilding the church of the Holy Cross: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his majesty.

1601.

On the Rhine.

HENRY's letters changed the design of Nassau; he besieged Rhimberg, and took it on the tenth of June. The archduke Albert, in revenge, invested Ostend on *the fifth of July. Maurice, on his side, laid siege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprise, or to indemnify himself by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the most important fortress in Brabant. I was still of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king sent for me to hear my sentiments of it in the presence of the courtiers who were by when the packet which brought the news was opened, and who all spoke differently of it, I said that, although I was very young when I had visited Bolduc, I had nevertheless preserved the remembrance of the place, and, that not to mention its situation, which rendered the siege of it a work of immense labour, it seemed to me impossible, considering the extent of the place and the great number of its citizens, to surround it in such a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at least without an army of twenty five thousand men. In effect, the prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

THE war breaking out so near our frontiers, made Henry resolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other design but to visit that country. Although he always suspected the Spaniards, he was not apprehensive, in the present state of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not displeased at having an opportunity to give them a little uneasiness, in revenge for the daily occasions of discontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner-sufficient to have obliged his majesty to do something more, had not policy prevailed over resentment. After many fruitless attempts to break the alliance between the Swiss cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the dispute about the marquise of Saluces, because his holiness could not dispense with himself from giving judgment against the duke of Savoy, they had sent troops to that prince in the last campaign, under the com-

* It will be often mentioned; this siege, in which many brave actions were performed on both sides, having lasted

above three years; but for a minute detail of them consult M. De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other historians.

1601. mand of the count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with marshal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himself had confessed it to his majesty: and lastly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marseilles, and Bayonne.

ALL this his majesty dissembled his displeasure at; but nothing provoked him against that crown so much, as the outrage * which La Rochepot, our ambassador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I swear by heaven," said Henry transported with rage, "that, if I can but once see my affairs in order, and get a sufficient supply of money, and whatever else is necessary, I will make so furious a war upon them, that they shall repent of having obliged me to take up arms." However, he still shut his eyes upon so glaring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I see plainly," said this prince to me sometimes, "that through emulation, jealousy, and interest of state, France and Spain can never be on friendly terms with each other, and that a proper security against that crown must have some other foundation than words." He was sufficiently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Sillery's policy, who often, in his presence, maintained against me, that a strict union with Spain was not only neither impossible nor dangerous for France, but likewise the most reasonable system of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I opposed that competition so natural to these two crowns, the opposition of their interests, and the remembrance of so many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour so artful and unjust, the necessary measures to be taken were to hold them always suspected, and to be always prepared for defence. The last news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents, at least in the king's opinion, who hesitated no longer about going to

* Antony de Sully, count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himself with some French gentlemen, was insulted by some Spaniards who flung his cloaths, and those of his companions into the river. These revenged themselves for the affront by killing and wounding some of the Spaniards; those that fled soon after returned to force open the ambassador's house,

and thence dragged his nephew to prison, with others of his associates that had taken shelter there. This difference was compromised by the pope, who caused the prisoners to be sent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, ambassador of France at that court. See the above-mentioned historians for the year 1601.

Ostend, after he had dismissed two celebrated embassies, which he received about this time. 1601.

ONE of these embassies was from the grand seignor, who, knowing that the sophy of Persia his enemy had sent a solemn deputation to the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, without taking any notice of the king of France, against whom he seemed to make an overture of his friendship at the same time that he asked for theirs, he was returning one act for another. His highness, on this occasion, made use of his physician, who * was a christian, and invested him with the dignity of his ambassador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expressed himself, with regard to the French †, discovered a distinction and respect, of which there are few examples; he set a higher value, he said, upon the friendship and arms of the French, than of all the other christian nations together; and that although they should all unite with Persia against him, he should think himself in a condition to despise their attempts, as soon as he had secured the alliance and assistance of a king, whose superiority over all his neighbours, as well as his great personal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkish ambassador presented his majesty with several rich presents, and gave me two scymetars of exquisite workmanship, which I keep with great care.

THE other ambassador was from the republic of Venice. This state had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common interest, united with France against the Spanish power: it had been amongst the first in complimenting his most christian majesty upon his marriage and the peace, by the sieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the last of whom was likewise in this embassy. Henry was desirous that these ambassadors should be received with the utmost distinction in Paris. He ordered them to be served with his own plate, and loaded them with presents of equal value with those he gave the first. The letters he then wrote to me turned almost wholly upon

* Bartholemew Cœur, a renegade of Marfeilles. He demanded of the king that the duke of Mercœur should be recalled from Hungary, because, among the prophecies which the Turks believe, there is one, they say, that the French shall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the most glorious, most magnanimous and most illustrious prince of the

faith of Jesus . . . the composer of the differences that happen between christian potentates, prince of grandeur, majesty and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greatest subjects, Henry the IVth emperor of France; such were the titles which his highness gave the king. MSS. de la Bibliothé de Rod, vol. 9592.

1601. this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and still less the queen who had so great a concern in this embassy. His majesty shewed so much respect for the Venetian ambassadors, as not to suffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them.

THE archdukes could not fail to suspect, that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obstruct their designs upon Ostend, by way of reprisal for the ill treatment La Rochepot had received. In order to discover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the count of Solre in the quality of ambassador, under a pretence of making him the same compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambassador to insinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who, instead of satisfying him as to the occasion of his complaints, made, in his turn, very heavy ones against Spain, assuring him however, but in a general manner, that he would not be the first to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promise the ambassador pretended to be satisfied.

THE queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to satisfy her impatience of seeing and embracing her best friend. Henry was not less desirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, especially those which had been just hinted to him by the English and Dutch ambassadors when he was at Nantz. Elizabeth first wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of service; she afterwards made him the usual compliments, and repeated those assurances by the lord Edmund, whom she dispatched to Calais, till she herself could arrive at Dover, from whence she sent the lord Sidney with other letters.

HENRY resolving not to be outdone in complaisance, answered these advances in a manner that shewed at once his respect for the sex of Elizabeth, and his esteem and admiration of her character. This intercourse continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whose jealousy was strongly excited by proximity and close correspondence. Of all the letters wrote by these two sovereigns on this occasion, I am possessed only of that in which Elizabeth informs the

the king of those obstacles that prevented her conferring with him in person, lamenting the unhappiness of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were slaves to forms and fettered by circumspection. This letter *, because it was the occasion of the voyage I made to this princess, I have kept in my hands; in it she tells her most dear and well beloved brother (for so she called the king of France) that her concern at not being able to see him was so much the greater, as she had something to communicate to him which she durst not confide to any other person or commit to paper, and yet that she was upon the point of returning to London.

THE king's curiosity was strongly excited by these last words; in vain did he torture his imagination to guess their purport. Secretary Feret being sent by him to fetch me, "I have just now received letters," said he to me, "from my good sister the queen of England, whom you admire so greatly; they are more full of flatteries than ever: see if you will have more success than I have had in discovering her meaning." I agreed with Henry that it must be something of great consequence which induced her to express herself in this manner; it was resolved therefore, that I should embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other design then to take advantage of the shortness of the passage to make a tour to London, which would give me an opportunity of seeing what step the queen would take upon my arrival, neither the king nor I doubting but that she would be immediately

* This letter, and this whole relation of the duke of Sully's concerning Henry the IVth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear sufficient, without any other reflections, to shew the error of all those various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different historians concerning these two potentates. It was said Elizabeth proposed to Henry, either that he should come to Dover, or at least confer with her in a vessel half way between these two towns, and that this proposal concealed a snare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry, by seizing upon his person in the interview, and keeping him prisoner till he restored Calais, and that Henry excused himself from complying with her request, only because he suspected the design; others say, because his fears of the sea were so great, that he durst not venture into a vessel. No one

suspected the true motive for proposing this interview, which was the occasion of all these letters that passed between them, and caused the duke of Sully to make the secret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Sully, on this occasion, builds upon the resentment which he supposes Elizabeth always preserved, both of the peace of Vervins and the surrender of Calais, as well as her fear lest Henry should aggrandise himself too much, and on the jealousy which the English entertained of the French. *Mem. Record. vol. I. p. 130, 150, &c.* But this writer, so well acquainted with foreign negotiations, especially those of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry the IVth. He knew neither this prince nor the duke of Sully.

informed

1601. informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended passage, but such of my domestics as were to attend me, and of these I took but a very small number.

I EMBARKED early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of those who embarked and disembarked, I was immediately discovered by the lord Sidney, who five or six days before had seen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were soon after joined by the earls of Devonshire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and asked me if I was come to see the queen; I told him I was not, and even assured him that the king knew nothing of my voyage: I likewise entreated him not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my respects to her I had no letter to present, my design being only to make a short tour incognito to London. These gentlemen replied smiling, that I had taken a useless precaution, for that probably the guardship had already given a signal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to see a messenger from the queen, who would not suffer me to pass in this manner, having but three days ago spoke of me publicly and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident, but to hope nevertheless, that I might still pass undiscovered, provided that these gentlemen would be secret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I assured them, I would immediately depart as soon as I had taken a little refreshment: saying this I left them abruptly, and had but just entered my apartment, and spoke a few words to my people, when I felt somebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arrested me as a prisoner to the queen. This was the captain of her guards, whose embrace I returned, and replied smiling, that I should esteem such imprisonment a great honour.

HIS orders were to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, M. de Rosny," said this princess to me as soon as I appeared, "it is thus that you break our fences and pass on without coming to see me; I am greatly surprised at it, for I thought you bore me more affection than any of my servants, and I am persuaded that I have given you no cause to change those sentiments." I replied in few words, but such as so gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any disguise, to entertain her with those sentiments the king my master had for her. "To give you a proof," replied she, "that I believe all you have told me of the
" good-

“goodwill of the king my brother, and of your own, I will discourse with you on the subject of the last letter I wrote to him; though perhaps you have seen it, for Stafford (that is the name of the lord Sidney) and Edmund tell me, that the king conceals few of his secrets from you.” She then drew me aside, that she might speak to me with the greatest freedom, on the present state of affairs in Europe; and this she did with such strength and clearness, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great queen was truly worthy of that high reputation she had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to shew me how necessary it was that the king of France should, in concert with her, begin to execute those great designs which they both meditated against the house of Austria. The necessity of this she founded upon the accessions this house was daily seen to make: she repeated to me all that had passed on this subject in 1598, between the king and the English and Dutch ambassadors, and asked me if this prince did not still continue to have the same sentiments, and why he so long delayed to begin the enterprize.

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To these questions of queen Elizabeth, I answered, That his most christian majesty still continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raising, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were destined to no other purpose than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in such a state, as to enable him to undertake the destruction of a power so solidly established as that of the Austrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at since the peace of Vervins, as well for the general necessities of his kingdom, as to restrain the attempts of the seditious, and to carry on the war which he had just ended with Savoy. I did not dissemble with this princess the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces should use their utmost endeavours to reduce the house of Austria, unless they were assisted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reasons, the chief weight of this war must fall, the house of Austria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only support itself against them, but even render the balance equal; it would therefore be useless, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to sap the foundations of so formidable a power, by the same means only that serve merely to keep upon the defensive with it: and it would be indispensably necessary to defer the attempt for some years, during which, France would acquire all the

now

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now wanted, to enable her to strike more effectually the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and states in their design, the princes of Germany especially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the house of Austria.

It was easy for the queen of England to comprehend, by the manner in which I expressed myself, that these were not so much my own as Henry's sentiments which I communicated to her, and she gave me to understand as much, by confessing, that they appeared so just and reasonable to her, that she could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too soon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the house of Austria within just bounds, it would be necessary that each of the allies should so proportion all his desires or expectations which he might conceive in consequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the rest: supposing, for example, that Spain should be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole nor any part of this state was to be coveted, either by the king of France, or the king of Scotland, who would one day become so of Great Britain, nor yet by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, already sufficiently powerful by sea and land to make themselves respected by the other allies; and that the same conduct ought to be observed with regard to all the other spoils that might be taken from the house of Austria by those princes whose dominions should happen to be nearest to the conquered countries; "For if my brother, the king of France, said she, should think of making himself proprietor, or even only feudal lord of the United Provinces, I should never consent to it, but entertain a most violent jealousy of him; nor should I blame him, if, giving him the same occasion, he should have the same fears of me."

THESE were not the only reflections made by the queen of England; she said many other things, which appeared to me so just and sensible, that I was filled with astonishment and admiration. It is not unusual to behold princes form great designs; their sphere of action so forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only necessary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are so little proportioned to perform, that they scarce ever find themselves able to execute the half of what they proposed; but to be able to distinguish and form only such as are reasonable; wisely to regulate the conduct

of

of them; to foresee and guard against all obstacles in such a manner, that when they happen, nothing more will be necessary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before. This is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, prosperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce schemes, to execute which there is not the least possibility. Another cause of surprize to me, was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, should agree so exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the most minute particulars.

THE queen observing my eyes were attentively fixed on her without speaking, imagined she had expressed herself so confusedly in something she had said, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuously confessed to her the true cause of my silence and surprize, she then, without scruple, entered into the most minute parts of the design: but as I shall have an ample occasion to treat of this, in relating the great schemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I shall not trouble the reader with useless repetitions; but in this place just shew the five principal points to which her majesty reduced so extensive a scheme, as from the sequel of these Memoirs this will appear to have been. The first was, to restore Germany to its antient liberty, in respect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The second, to render the United Provinces absolutely independent of Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if necessary, some provinces dismembered from Germany. The third, to do the same in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it some of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alsace and Franche-Compté. The fourth, to divide all christendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under those three which should appear to be most numerous and considerable in Europe.

OUR conference was very long: I cannot bestow praises upon the queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I discovered in her in this short time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the understanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that passed between us to the king, who very highly approved all she had said to me. Their majesties corresponded by letters, during the rest of the time they stayed at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; measures were taken even on the grand object of the design, but

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with such secrecy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of those in which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed.

THE king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortresses upon his frontier, and provided for their security: in every other respect, he appeared an indifferent spectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemings; and all he did in favour of Ostend, the siege of which was still continued, was not to hinder some French from engaging in the service of the prince of Orange, in which several of them lost their lives; amongst these, the death of young * Chatillon-Coligny, whose head was shot off by a cannon-ball before Ostend, deserved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told it, said publicly, that France had lost a man of great merit: myself, in particular, was sensibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almost all the qualities that form a soldier; valor, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himself equally beloved by the soldier and officer.

BUT Coligny was a protestant; and the jealousy of the courtiers soon converted all these virtues into so many crimes, in the opinion of the king; they told his majesty, that Coligny already aspired to the distinction of being head of the protestants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was solicited by the duke of Bouillon; that he desired nothing with so much ardour as to equal, or even to surpass, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he should not regret the loss of life, if he had the satisfaction to lose it at the head of an army, fighting for the preservation of his friends. His affection for the soldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the king, that he had already raised a jealousy in the prince of Orange; and that his majesty would one day have reason to fear a shoot from a stock that had given so much trouble to our kings. Henry was so far influenced by these insinuations, that when I went to ask some favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared

* Henry de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, son to Francis, and grandson to the admiral de Coligny: he carried to the assistance of Ostend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantôme, the house of Cha-

tillon Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and antient lineage, as he says, and who were formerly sovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. III. p. 173.

to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but also so greatly prejudiced against the whole family, that I desisted from a solicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myself, my connections and conformity of religion with the deceased considered.

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THE king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleasure to find the queen in as good a state of health as he left her. He was seldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all possible care of her health *. In a letter he wrote to me some days before the queen lay in, he says, "Bring no people of business with you at this time, no mention must be made of it during the first week of my wife's lying in; we shall have sufficient employment to hinder her from getting cold."

AT length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; the queen was, on the 17th of September †, delivered of a son, whose strong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the most agreeable hopes ‡. I believe I may venture to affirm, that this incident gave me more joy than any one else. I was attached to the king's person by the most tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the most faithful of his subjects, and was therefore more interested in his happiness. He was so convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his son in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he sent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only these few words: "The queen is just delivered of a son; I send you the news, that you may rejoice with me." Besides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he sent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand master of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an

* "We read," says Bayle, in the *Rep. de Lett.* for January, 1686, "that Henry recommended to Louise Bourgeois, a very skilful midwife, who laid the queen, to perform her office so carefully, as that there might be no occasion for employing a man-midwife. Since this, added he, would shock female modesty."

† On Thursday night, about midnight. ‡ Perefixe says, on the contrary, "That the labour was very difficult, and the child so much fatigued, that it was quite purple when it was born, which probably impaired its vital principles, and

broke its constitution. The king, imploring the blessing of heaven upon the infant, gave him also his own benediction, and put his sword into his hand, praying God, that he would be pleased to give him grace to make use of it only for his glory, and the defence of his people." Matthieu speaks in the very same terms: "My dearest, says he to the queen, be of good cheer, for God has granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a shock of an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. *Tom. II. l. iii. p. 441.*

1601. occasion of inexpressible delight to him, "Not so much, said he, for
 " the near concern I have in this incident, as for the general good of
 " my subjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arsenal;
 which was performed in such a manner, that the report was heard
 even at Fontainebleau. On this occasion it was not necessary to
 order public rejoicings: all his majesty's subjects, from the first to the
 meanest, concurred in giving demonstrations of it, in which fear and
 policy had no part.

THE king's satisfaction was only interrupted by a slight indisposi-
 tion, which he had drawn upon himself. La-Riviere * was his first
 physician, a man who had little more religion than those generally
 have that blend with it the profession of judicial astrology; yet the
 world did him the honour to suppose, that he concealed the principles
 of a protestant under the appearance of a catholic. Henry, who al-
 ready felt a tenderness for his son, that filled him with an eager an-
 xiety to know about his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often
 succeeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate
 the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the
 exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully sought for
 the most excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the
 king thought no more of this design till about a fortnight after, when
 he and I being alone together, the conversation turned upon the pre-
 dictions of La-Brosse, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning
 his majesty and me, which we had found so exactly accomplished.
 Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his son receiving
 new strength by this discourse, he ordered La-Riviere to be sent for.

THE physician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in
 his work. " M. de La-Riviere, said the king to him, we have been
 " talking of astrology; what have you discovered concerning my son?"
 " I had begun my calculations, replied La-Riviere, but I left them
 " unfinished, not caring any longer to amuse myself with a science
 " which I have always believed to be in some degree criminal." The
 king immediately discovered that this answer was not sincere, and that
 he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehension of offend-
 ing his majesty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the cau-
 tion of an astrologer, who held it dangerous to disclose his secrets.

* La-Riviere succeeded D'Alibouft in the family of the duke of Bouillon, who
 the place of first physician: he had been resigned him to the king.

" I see

" I see plainly, said Henry, that you are not restrained by motives of conscience; you are not of the number of persons that are so very scrupulous; but, in reality, you are afraid of not being able to tell me truth, or of making me angry; but whatever it be, I will know it, and I command you, on my displeasure, to speak freely." La-Riviere suffered himself to be pressed still longer; and at last, with a discontented air, either real or disssembled, said, " Sire, your son will live to be a man, and will reign longer than you; but his inclination and yours will be very different; he will be obstinately wedded to his opinions, often governed by his own whims, and sometimes by those of others: it will be safer then to think than to speak: impending ruin threatens your former society: all the effects of your prudence will be destroyed: he will perform great things, will be fortunate in his designs, and make a great figure in Europe: in his time there will be a vicissitude of peace and war: he will have children; and after him things will run into confusion. This is all you can know from me, and more than I had resolved to tell you." The king, after musing a little while on what he had heard, said to La-Riviere, " You mean the protestants, I know; but you speak thus because you are well inclined towards them." " I understand," said La-Riviere, what you would have, but I shall say no more." His majesty and I continued together a long time in conversation, making reflections on every word that had been spoken by La-Riviere, which continued strongly on the king's mind.

It was not possible for me to stay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindness, an account of every thing that happened. " You cannot imagine," says he in one of his letters, " how well my wife is recovered of her lying-in; she dresses her head herself, and talks already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he says, " The queen goes already into her closet; she has a constitution surprisngly strong: my son likewise is very well, I thank God: these are the best news I can send a faithful and affectionate servant, whom I tenderly love*." Henry sent his son to Saint-Germain to be nursed, on account of the goodness of the air: and by one of those little strokes of popularity which shew the heart better than more ostentatious actions, he would have him shewn to all Paris; for which purpose, he was carried openly through

* The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is still extant; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of August. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

1601. the midst of this great city. The Parisians, by repeated acclamations, expressed their pleasure at this sight.

THE king had made a promise to the queen that, if she brought him a son, he would present her with the castle of Monceaux. "My wife," said he, in a letter to me, "has gained Monceaux, by giving me a son; therefore I desire you will send for the president Forget, to confer with him about this affair, and take his advice concerning the security that must be given to my children, for the sum which I pay for Monceaux." The city of Paris having likewise promised the queen a present of a suit of tapestry hangings for her lying-in, his majesty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it: an infant^{*} was born in Spain, about the same time that providence gave a prince to France.

THE negotiation, so many years depending with the grand duke of Florence, was concluded this year: that the reader may understand the occasion of it, it is necessary he should know, that, under the reign of Henry the third, Ferdinand de Medicis, grand duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to possess himself of the little isles of Pomègue, Ratoneau, and If, with its castle in the neighbourhood of Marseille. Henry, fully resolved to make the grand duke restore them, ordered d'Ossat, who was then on the other side of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1568. The grand duke not daring to refuse them absolutely, represented only, that he had expended great sums of money upon these isles, which he could not resolve to lose: d'Ossat of himself removed this obstacle, by engaging that the king his master should indemnify him for these expences, by paying him three hundred thousand crowns, for which twelve of the richest and most considerable persons in France should be security †, as

* Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards queen of France, born the 22d of September.

† This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that passed on the 1st of May 1598, between the king of France and the grand duke of Tuscany, by the intervention of cardinal d'Ossat, which may be seen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Ossat with any thing which he had not already excused in the letter

which he wrote to his majesty, on the 5th of May 1598, immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, and likewise in that to M. de Villeroy, of the 4th of August following. He afterwards cleared himself more fully, in a long memorial, which is also inserted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reasons which M. de Sully produces against this convention groundless, nor believe that the duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition.

if his majesty alone had not been sufficient to answer for so small a sum. The king, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified this treaty; and a short time after the chevalier Vinta was sent by the duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the business of the isles upon this plan.

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THE two agents did not go out of the council to seek for their securities, and the affair was proposed to me among the rest: this method of proceeding with a king, whose power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me so uncommon, that I could not help laughing at those who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to represent to me the necessity of disengaging d'Osirat from his word: I replied, that there never had been any bankers in my family; for indeed, this was rather the business of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, said Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, answered I with some indignation, for they are all either descended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there arose a dispute in the council, which was reported to the king, who only smiled and said they had done wrong to mention it to me without first informing him, since he had not acquainted me with it himself. I am astonished, added he, that he did not give a still ruder answer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he values himself upon the nobility of his birth: let this affair be concluded without his or any other persons entering into any obligation: I gave no permission to the bishop of Rennes to agree to such an expedient. The grand duc did not allow himself to be solicited upon this head; he set the king free from the obligation of the twelve securities out of regard to his person. The act for it was passed on the fourth of August 1598, but the affair was on neither side concluded till the chevalier Vinta arrived in 1601.

I WAS likewise employed to settle certain estates in Piedmont, for which the count of Soissons was desirous of treating with his majesty: they came to him by the death of the princess of Conti, in right of his wife who was of the house of Montaffié*. My report was not very favourable for the count: I represented to the king, that these estates, which had been too highly valued, were likewise subject to so much litigation, and were so disadvantageously situated, that these considerations ought greatly to lessen the price. The count of Soissons

* The prince of Conti was first married to Jane de Coëme, lady Bonnetable, and widow of Lewis count de Montaffié in

Piedmont and the count de Soissons: had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Lewis by the said Jane de Coëme.

thought

1601. thought proper to dissemble the resentment he entertained against me for this declaration.

FRESNE-CANAYE * was named ambassador to Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the great mortification of the other ministers, especially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often disputes, which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. These two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which they pretended belonged only to them. The nomination to embassies falling under this head, they told his majesty, in my presence, that, for the embassy to Rome, they had abler persons to propose to him than Bethune, who, they said, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no considerable service to the state. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embassy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himself well; and it could not be denied that he was circumspect, wise, and honest; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the least that are essential to an ambassador. What these gentlemen said, therefore, was as false as it was contemptuous; and this I made them sensible of in my answer, by shewing them the value of those services which the state received from the military art, and which those gentlemen seemed to place below all others.

VILLEROI, piqued in his turn that I had not given the first rank to his, maintained his cause with great heat and animosity. His majesty found himself obliged to command us to be silent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding such discourse in his presence; and that, without entering into a discussion of our services, we ought to be satisfied that he was pleased with them. I asked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to close the mouths of persons who so unjustly placed the lazy business of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military professions; and I truly spoke my sentiments of such partiality. "Well, well," said Henry, interrupting me, "I pardon you all, and take your words, as I must, but upon condition that, for the future, you will avoid these little debates, and that when one of you recommends his friend to my favour, the others do not oppose it, but submit to my choice: at present I determine in favour of the sieur de Bethune, whose family, wisdom, probity,

* Philip Canaye de Fresne: Philip de Bethune, count de Selles and de Charost.

“ and even capacity, I esteem, having employed him in many affairs both of peace and war, which he has acquitted himself of worthily.” The king promised Villeroy that, after my brother’s return, he would dispose of the embassy to Rome according to his recommendation. He then put an end to his walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than two hours, and went to dinner. I went several times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his majesty’s orders concerning affairs that could no otherwise be communicated to him, and, being often and for a considerable time at a distance from each other, I received, as usual, a great number of letters from this prince: that in which he mentions the marechal d’Ornano *, who had given him some causes of complaint, has something singular in it. “ I never, says Henry, saw so much obstinacy and ignorance together in one man, but I pronounced him dangerous; he has reached the summit of insolence. Take care that he gives me no occasion to be convinced what he is, that is, unworthy of the honours I have bestowed on him: his fidelity only could deserve them; his many acts of disobedience will soon take away all claim to that character: to say the truth, I am quite tired of him.” The states of Languedoc meeting this year, the king wrote to me, that he must transfer the place of their sitting to the Lower Languedoc, “ that my servants, said he, may not go first to those of the league.” In another letter, he ordered me to send for some foals of his breed of horses † at Meun; and in another, to

* Alphonso d’Ornano, son to San-Pietro de Bastelica, a colonel of the Swiss.

† “ From his early years,” says Brantome, speaking of Henry II. in his *Vies des hommes illustres*, tom. II. p. 24. “ he was always very fond of the exercise of riding, and kept always a great number of them in his grand stables of Tournelles, which were the principal, as also at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the inspection of M. de Boissy master of the horse, the most valuable part of which was his breeding mares, wherein he took great delight.” He adds, that, this prince having one day shewn his stables to the emperor’s master of the horse, the latter told him, that his master had not near so fine a set of horses, extolling them very highly, especially as the greatest part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the last reigns, were the cause that the king’s breeding stables had then fallen into

decay, and were in a worse condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of those before mentioned, where horses were bred for the king’s use; and these stables were very considerable, as may be seen from the archives of the secretary of the king’s household, which are kept at Petits-peres in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to distinguish it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is also in Berry.

In 1604, the duke de Bellegarde, master of the horse, caused Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding stables, to remove the king’s set of mares to St. Leger, a forest belonging to the crown. In 1618 some considerable additions and improvements were made; and greater still about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, minister of state, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of stoned horses and young

1601. give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in Advent and Lent ; the rest, which contain only a detail of slight circumstances, I suppress, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the smallest consequence.

I SHALL comprize, in one article, with which the memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to marechal Biron, of whose revolt there was at length the most convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very strong suspicions against this marechal, his majesty had a private conversation with him in the convent of the Cordeliers, and appeared so well informed of all his transactions with the duke of Savoy, that Biron, either because he then thought that, after such a discovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he sought only to deceive the king, confessed to him, that he had not been able to resist the offers made to him by the duke of Savoy, joined to his promise of giving him the princess * his daughter to wife. He asked the king's pardon for these proceedings, and protested to him, with the utmost appearance of sincerity, that he would never again suffer himself to be intoxicated with such expectations.

HENRY thought he might depend upon a promise, which was nevertheless forgot in the instant that it was made. Biron resumed his first designs ; went, according to his custom, at different times into the provinces, caressed all the malecontents he found amongst the gentry, entertained them continually with the injustice he received from the king, and his credit and the correspondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into stronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entragues, d'Auvergne, and others †. He, who was pride and

colts, by means of Alain de Garfaut, who was then captain. It continued in this state till 1715, at which time it began to be settled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garfaut, Lewis de Lorraine count d'Armagnac being then master of the horse in France : since this last establishment, it has every day more the appearance of the stables of the most powerful prince in Europe

* The marechal de Biron, by marrying the duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the king of Spain, and that duke, the seigniorship and in-

vestiture of Burgundy, Franche Comté, and the County de Charlois : this was one part of the grand project of both these courts, which consisted in dismembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be seen in Vittorio Siri, Mem. rec. vol. I. p. 103. 127. who likewise extols the services which the count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occasion, to Henry IV. during his embassy at Rome.

† The author says nothing, in all this account, of the conspiracy of the mare-

fierceness

fierceness itself, laid such a restraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the soldiers the most humane and affable man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee ; for what appearance will not ambition assume to attain its end ? Hitherto, however, it might still have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his designs within his own breast, and if this conduct was not an effect of that disposition which is observable in many persons, who, by their discourse, appear restless, disturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themselves headlong into rebellion.

1601.

HENCE arose Henry's suspense concerning the conduct of marshal Biron, though he still continued to have him carefully observed, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of Biron's conduct in the last journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had passed the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this. Biron, who on his side had his spies at court, being apprehensive of the impression that his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that subject. His letter is dated the third of January ; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injustice even his majesty did him in believing him capable of designs he had never entertained. He excused his journey to Burgundy, on account of some domestic affairs that made it absolutely necessary ; and assured me, that he should leave that province in two days : he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had sent to me. This letter was too soon followed by incontestable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought sincere ; and I was so far from believing his professions in it, that they only increased my suspicions.

DURING the king's stay at Calais, he received still clearer and more circumstantial informations against Biron, doubtless because this marshal, believing himself less suspected than before, took greater liberties than usual : but Henry, instead of taking those measures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable ; resolved, if possible, to bring him back to his duty, by

chal de Biron, his imprisonment, and the process against him, but what is confirmed by the histories and memoirs of that time : they mention these extravagant words of

his ; " The king does not at all hurt me, " for I know how to be revenged on " crowned heads, and even emperors." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. 2. p. 333.

M 2

gentle-

1601.

gentleness, kindness, and such distinctions as make the strongest impressions upon the heart of an honest man. Biron having demanded a gratification of thirty thousand crowns from his majesty, the king thought it very reasonable, and granted it immediately; and because that no obstacles should retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper measures to satisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him instantly one half of the sum in ready money, and assigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

BIRON thought there was a necessity for coming to thank me for this favour; he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten and even despised by this prince, now that he had no longer occasion for his sword, this sword, said he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impossible for me to keep silence upon this occasion; I represented to the marshal, with a kind of reproach, that he accused Henry so much the more unjustly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratification, had not disdained to solicit for its payment: hence I took occasion to speak with still greater freedom to Biron; I remonstrated to him that, although he should even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he spoke of his master, and of a master who, by his personal qualities, still more than by his rank, engaged the esteem and respect of his subjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more sensible of than disrespect to their persons, an envious desire to lessen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. These terms were sufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron positively that I thought him both ingrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my discourse. I exhorted him to nourish a nobler emulation in his soul, which might give him a title to real praises; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's self beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of its fear; a detestable attempt, and almost always fatal to those that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the state and the public good, we might, in some degree, make both depend upon us; he by his abilities for war, I by the share I had in the government at home; and hence we should taste the refined pleasure of knowing ourselves to be either the authors or instruments of every public benefit. I finished my remonstrance by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his majesty thanks for the gratification he had just received.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindness, nor to repentance by conviction, answered only by exaggerating his own merit so unseasonably and in such boastful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing that I had hitherto only suspected, which was, that the harshness of his manners and the inequality of his humour proceeded from a slight taint of madness, for which so much the less allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reasoning, it could not hinder him from speaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had just said to him, having reason to look upon me as a man in whose presence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let something escape him concerning the designs that filled his head. I took no notice of it, but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himself, and to repair it pretended to acquiesce with my reasons, and to approve of my sentiments: from that moment, I so absolutely despaired of ever being able to recal this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to disguise from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing. 1601.

IT was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty persuaded of the treachery of any person about him: he answered, that he knew Biron perfectly well, that he was very capable of saying all that was related; but that this man, who, in consequence of his natural violence, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himself above every one else, was nevertheless, a moment after, the first to mount his horse, and dare all dangers for those whom he had railed at so much before; therefore he well deserved some indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was assured Biron would never be induced to rebel against him; that if this should happen, as he had already given a proof on those occasions where he had saved the life of this marshal, and in the last place at Fontaine-Françoise, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewise how to shew him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him still greater demonstrations of kindness, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

HE was sent ambassador to queen Elizabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary conversation *. He was imprudent enough not

* A particular account of this embassy, may be seen in Matthieu, tom. II. l. 2. p. 426, and seq.

1601. only to mention the earl of Essex to this princess, whom she had lately beheaded, but likewise to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whose great services had not been able to preserve him from so tragical an end; and Elizabeth had the complaisance, in answer to this impertinent discourse, to justify her conduct with regard to the earl, by shewing the necessity she was under to punish him: she told him, that Essex had madly engaged in schemes that greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might have still, by submission, have obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends nor his relations could prevail upon him to ask it. I know not whether the queen of England perceived any marks of resemblance between the French ambassador and the English favourite, but the reasonable observations on the nature of royal heads, and the duty of subjects, with which she concluded her discourse, seemed to insinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it.

AT his return from London, the king named him likewise ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; still continuing to believe, that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body so wise and politic as the Helvetic Senate is, would subdue at length all inclinations to sedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are passions that can never be wholly quelled; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly founded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No sooner was he returned from his second embassy, than, as if he endeavoured to make amends for the time he had lost, he laboured more assiduously than before to bring all his chimerical schemes to perfection; either persuaded thereto by the duke of Bouillon and the count of Auvergne, who had likewise formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To strengthen their mutual engagements, these three gentlemen signed a form of association, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the process against marshal Biron, they reciprocally promised, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue united for their common safety, *to and against all, without any exception* (these terms deserve a particular observation) to keep inviolably secret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in case any accident should happen to either of the associates. There was no prospect of succeeding in their designs, but through the operation of Spain
and

and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correspondence with these two powers, and on their side, to second their endeavours, went about picking up all the disaffected persons they could find amongst the gentry and soldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the cities at the greatest distance from Paris, particularly those in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the sedition occasioned by the establishment of the penny in the livre, which I had opposed so ardently in the assembly *des Notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to suppress; however, it could not possibly be raised according to the original plan: it had been changed into a subsidy of eight hundred thousand franks, of which one half was sunk in the *taille*, and the other in the customs.

1601.

BIRON and his associates, to increase the discontent of these people, already strongly incited by that impost, persuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would shortly be burthened with a duty upon salt; and many persons were kept in their pay in each of these provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from these disturbers of public tranquillity, if that of Henry the great, so wise, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its rise from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poison which produced those turbulent spirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happiest condition, a languid inactivity: hence arises that restless ambition, which keeps their reason enslaved, makes them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themselves; and raises their malice against princes, whose whole power, so obnoxious them, is not sufficient to gratify their inordinate desires.

HENRY's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himself he knew so well, and he began to fear he should be obliged to have recourse to the most violent remedy to stop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from persons that could not be suspected; all agreed in the chief point of the conspiracy; some mentioned the act of association, and, having seen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac * gave the king the most circumstantial and most probable account that had been yet transmitted to him; besides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his

* John de Sudrie, baron de Calveyrac.

1601.

colleagues had received several thousand pistoles from persons that came from Spain; that they expected sums still greater, and a supply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels should begin by seizing some strong maritime places, or frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Bayonne, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Toulon; and that the count of Auvergne was to wait only till these were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour.

In Upper Au-
vergne.

ALL these informations made it absolutely necessary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpose to the arsenal, where he found me busy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the last extremities with marshal Biron. He had for a long time made use of La-Fin * to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinsman. La-Fin had been sent several times to the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon some disgust Biron had given him, he retired to his house, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impossible to gain him; and for this purpose his nephew, the vidame of Chartres †, was made use of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majesty thought it necessary to take immediately into all those places through which Biron had passed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limosin, and especially about Blois.

LA-FIN having at length resolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conspiracy. The king was

* James de La-Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the house of Beauvais-la-Nocle; the most dangerous man, says Perceux, and the greatest traitor in France: the king knew him well, and often said to the marshal, Don't suffer that man to come near you, he's a rogue, he'll be the death of you. He endeavoured to accuse the marshal de Biron, from a jealousy he entertained, that the baron de Lux had sup-

planted him in the marshal's favour; and in revenge to the count de Fuentes, upon the discovery of his attempting to betray the latter, for that he had caused his secretary to be arrested: yet that he might the better destroy the marshal de Biron, he pretended still to have the same attachment to him as before."

† Pregent de La-Fin, vidame de Chartres.

desirous

1601.

desirous that he should be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be seen by none but those that were sent to confer with him. His majesty judging by what he had first declared, that my presence would be necessary, wrote these few words to me: "My friend, come to me immediately, on an affair that concerns my service, your honour, and our mutual satisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took post immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majesty in the midst of the large avenue to the castle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myself at his feet: "My friend," said this prince to me, pressing me in his arms, "all is discovered; the chief negotiator is come to ask pardon, and to make a full confession: in his accusation he includes a great number of persons of high rank, some of whom have particular reasons to love me *; but he is a great liar, and I am determined to believe nothing he says without good proofs: he accuses one man, amongst the rest, whom you little think of; come, guess who this traitor is." "That is not in my power, sire," I replied. After pressing me some time longer, but to no purpose, "You know him well, said he, it is M. de Rosny." "If the others are no more guilty than I am, replied I, smiling, your majesty need not give yourself much trouble about them." "I believe so, said the king; and to shew you that I do, I have ordered Bellievre and Villeroi to bring you all the accusations against you and the others; I have even told La-Fin, that I would have him see you, and speak to you freely: he is concealed at Mi-Voie, and will meet you on the road from Moret; appoint the hour and place, and none shall be present at your conference."

I COULD not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from some one of Biron's people, who supposed me to be a friend of their master, or from Biron himself and his associates, who thought it was lawful for them to make use of it to the Spanish ministers, to swell the number of their partisans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom: it was not impossible, that two letters I wrote to the marechal, through zeal rather than complaisance,

* We may, doubtless, rank among the number of these, the charge which La Fin brought against Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to Chron. Septennaire, since his friends made use of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire,

"we have at least this advantage," said M. de La-Force to Henry IV. throwing himself at his feet, "that there is nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your majesty's person." Vol. 9129 of the MSS. in the king's library.

1601.

might have involved me in the number of these conspirators; and the rather because, in allusion to the conversation that passed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himself useful and dear to the kingdom, by those measures I had marked out to him: I likewise told him, that although I was almost always about the king's person, yet I had never heard him express any resentment against him: and I advised Biron not to assert such a thing publicly, because the world would not fail to believe, and to report, that he only feigned to have received some disgust from his majesty, because his own conscience reproached him with having deserved it. Thus what I said with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my disadvantage.

HENRY's opinion, as he has since told me, was, that this accusation of me did not take its rise either from Biron or any of his associates, but from La-Fin alone, at the instigation of some persons who hoped by that means to accomplish my disgrace: however that may be, it made so little impression on the king's mind, that his majesty, who had lately given me the government of the Bastile, and thought that the patent for it should not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occasion, and caused it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he said, but me, by whom he could expect to be served with fidelity, in case he should have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

Matthieu,
vol. II. b. iii.
p. 482.

I HAD a long conversation with La-Fin alone, in the forest; after which, Bellevre, Villeroi, and myself, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs against the duke of Bouillon, marechal Biron, and the count of Auvergne; such as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the same kind. The names of many persons besides these three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little justice as mine own, which was there likewise, I shall not, on so slight a foundation, give them a place in these Memoirs, which, to distrustful persons, might make them still more liable to suspicion, than the depositions of La-Fin. After this examination we returned to his majesty, and a council being held, the result of it was, to keep every thing secret, that Biron might not be warned of the measures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arrested with the greater security. It was likewise resolved,

refoved, that his majesty ſhould ſet out immediately on the journey before mentioned. We ſhall ſee in the following year what theſe meaſures produced. 1601.

IT is neceſſary to take ſome notice of what happened this year in the ſeveral ſtates of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confuſion by a rebellion that was ſtirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland; Elizabeth ſent to beſiege Kinſale, the ſtrongeſt place which the rebels were in poſſeſſion of; the earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spaniſh troops in Ireland, haſtened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the lord Piercy. Alonzo remained priſoner there, and Kinſale ſurrendered.

VERY different reports were raiſed concerning the deſtination of the fleet which was fitted out about this time by the king of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode ſome time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempeſt, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very ſhattered condition: the command of this fleet had been given to prince Doria. Probably it was deſigned againſt Portugal, where the true or the falſe Don Sebastian * ſtill continued to have a great number of partiſans: Some ſecrets which he revealed, that it ſeemed could have been only known to the king of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body which he ſhewed, and ſome other circumſtances of the ſame kind, confirmed his aſſertion. However, to confeſs the truth, none of theſe proofs appeared unanſwerable; nevertheleſs, the king of Spain thought it the wiſeſt way to rid himſelf privately of this pretended prince: ſo that the truth was never known, or at leaſt to a few perſons only, whoſe intereſt it was not to publiſh it.

* There is ſomething ſurely very ſurpriſing and uncommon in this perfect reſemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the hiſtorians, was between the real Don Sebastian and this man, who is ſaid to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no leſs difficult to gueſs, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumſtances of this king of Portugal's life, which were ſo peculiar and ſecret, as to aſtoniſh all the world. The Portugueſe, ſtill more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as alſo through their hatred for Spain (this laſt motive

might likewiſe be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, perſiſted in ſupporting the claims of this impoſtor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, an. 1601. p. 217. See what has been ſaid a little higher. The Spaniards were ſo thoroughly convinced of their having diſcovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuſcany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer ſcrupled to expoſe him as a public gazing-ſtock, mounted him on an aſs; after which they ſent him to the galleys. See Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 451.

1601.

A DIET was convened at Ratibon, with intention to make some composition between the popish and protestant religions, but this hope came to nothing: upon the first question proposed, which was concerning the authority of the holy scriptures*, such heat was raised among the disputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The papists maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the consent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility to the other rights with which they have so liberally, and with so little reason, invested the Pope: the protestants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule†.

THE war in Transylvania still continued disadvantageous to the Vaivodes, Battory and Michael, who had revolted from the Emperor; they were defeated by George Baste, and Clausembourg was taken. The duke of Mercœur signalized himself no less at the head of the Imperial troops against the Turks‡; he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortress esteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to besiege it. The arch-duke, less fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Canise; and the Knights of Malta took and destroyed the city of Passava in the Morea.

Ferdinand of Austria.
By the christians called Chateaucuf.

CONSTANTINOPLE and the palace of the Grand Signor was in no less commotion, through the discontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded so far as to strangle, in the presence of Mahomet III. himself, seven of the favourites of his seraglio, and threatened to depose him: he was a man, indeed, whose vices rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, slothful, avaritious, and sunk in every kind of voluptuousness.

* This question was publicly debated, during several sittings, between the catholic divines of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and the protestant divines of Ludovic count palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; the two first of these princes assisted at it in person, and were obliged to put an end to this dispute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the case, afterwards ascribed to themselves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

† This, however, will always be, in the opinion of unprejudiced persons, one

among the false doctrines of Calvin, the most untenable, namely, that scripture is the best interpreter of scripture; or, what is far worse, that its sense may be determined by private persons. This is the chief source of that monstrous confusion of sects with which the pretended Reformation was immediately over-run.

‡ The duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the first warriors of his time. See them, as also the other facts that are here spoken of, in the historians.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIII.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were by all those domestic insurrections we have seen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from resigning themselves, this winter, to their accustomed pleasures and shews. By the queen's order, and for her amusement, a magnificent interlude was composed: the arsenal was the place the king chose for the representation of these shews, on account of the conveniency its spacious apartments afforded both for the actors and spectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the necessary orders at the arsenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its representation; but the king chose rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

1602.

TOWARDS the middle of lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marshal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or fifty horse: the king ordered the same honours to be paid him that the marechal
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1602. de * Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, son to the marquis of Brandenburg, staid likewise some time at Paris. It was not usual by defray the expences of persons of his rank, especially, as it was observed by his majesty, if they did not follow the court: but the king was resolved to shew a particular respect to a prince, whose family, one of the most illustrious in Germany, had always professed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to send him every day, in his majesty's name, presents of the richest wines, and provisions for his table.

WHEN every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majesty, in the several journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the necessary orders for securing peace and tranquillity in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as those through which he was to pass, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her household accompanied his majesty in this journey; I likewise attended him, but did not set out till a few days after: the king sent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of staying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than necessary for a regimen that was prescribed him by his physicians, to cure a defluxion of humours that had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it lasted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewise was the most proper city he could chuse to discover the secret practices of marshal Biron: Henry had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making those discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the schemes for surprising the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to disgust the people with the present government (the same which I have already mentioned) made up part of these advices, to which the following new informations were added.

* Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

THE seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commissaries that had been sent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be every where received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than some rents ill paid from the town-house of Paris; and, lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raise (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permission to levy) and the revocation of the draw-backs granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts. 1602.

THUS was this good prince represented, throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst the protestant officers and gentry: to the first they represented, that this treasure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the second, that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garriçons, the funds for the preservation of their cities, the pensions of their leaders, their officers, and ministers, would be lessened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be so much the less difficulty in depriving them of all their strong places, as it was already a point agreed upon by the council, to exclude the protestants from all public offices and employments, by refusing to expedite the patents for them.

IF the proofs against the persons of the conspirators had been as clear as those of their plots, the king might have that instant given free course to his justice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet less certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the most there were only suspicions, though those indeed were very strong, against

1602. against them: the other lords of the court, whose names, to the number of eight, were found in the list, might be well ranged under a third class of persons, whose doubtful conduct required some explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epemon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majesty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themselves a proof of their real sentiments, by attentively observing the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began first with d'Epemon. A just regard to truth has so often reduced me to the necessity of speaking disadvantageously of this nobleman, that it is with a real satisfaction I seize this opportunity of shewing his innocence, and giving him the praise he deserves.

D'EPERMON hearing whispers about the court of intrigues and cabals, easily apprehended that, as it is usual to judge of the present by the past, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongst those that were called enemies to the state; for which reason he took the precaution to renew to his majesty at Fontainebleau his assurances of fidelity: these assurances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step, he still continued to suspect him, and because d'Epemon in speaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between him and the duke, letting me know, at the same time, that d'Epemon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I OBEYED the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Epemon's innocence: he said the same to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of some commotions and secret intrigues, but said that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible; but

but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his person, as a security for his own fidelity, during six months; and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to him that he would not quit him till his suspicions were entirely erased. The king could have no objection to so reasonable a proposition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Epemon was guiltless.

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THE duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity: on the first mention his majesty made of the plot to him, he treated it as a calumny invented by spies and informers, against the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own services, and appear at least to gain the money that was given them to exercise this employment: to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majesty, he added an application of a passage in the New Testament, *It is impossible but that offences will come, but woe unto him through whom they come*, a passage, which, if taken in its true sense, might have been with more justice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not stop here; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the protestants, complained of their being oppressed with imposts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happiness increased, they became poor and miserable; that, besides these general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard protestants say, that sooner or later it would be their destiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuisance of the state, that both they and their children would be hated, persecuted, and proscribed, that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated: he added, that the more credit was given to these reports, because that persons of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor consulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new imposts that were established, they could not inform the people of the true motive of those resolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to any thing but to a design to enslave them.

IT was sufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, sought to insinuate to the king, that all these reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppressed with a multitude of taxes; and that this seeming discontent was put on to conceal from his majesty his real sentiments: but the insolence and the severity of his expressions shewed plainly enough that he could not resist this opportunity of discharging some part of his malice; he

1602. even added, with the same subtilty and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to persuade himself, that his majesty intended to abolish the privileges of his viscounty of Turenne, and to purchase the rights and claims of the house of Mark upon Sedan; but to this, as well as to every thing else, he had only replied, that he was persuaded the king would never act in such a manner, on account of the services he had at all times received from the protestant body; he finished by protesting to his majesty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the seditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom should be as true as he believed them false, yet it should never lessen his duty and fidelity.

THE king, dissembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this discourse, made him a proposal of the same nature with that which the duke of Epemon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion: he told the duke, that he was satisfied with this assurance, and that he would no longer preserve any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epemon had offered, which was not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his councils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his sollicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both the protestants and catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his majesty discovered for him; and as to the proposal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himself into a condition to satisfy it, not for six months only, but for his whole life if necessary, by taking a journey throughout all his estates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long stay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majesty required, he reserved, nevertheless, the power of doing only what he pleased himself, and of making a plausible excuse for the sudden departure he was meditating.

HENRY, comprehending his design, resolved to call a secret council to deliberate upon the measures that were necessary to be taken in this conjuncture. The count of Soissons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maïsse, and myself, were all that were present at this council: all other affairs

were postponed till Descures was heard, who had been sent by his majesty to invite marshal Biron to court, and whose report was such that it was unanimously resolved to arrest this marshal and the count of Auvergne as soon as they were arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epemon, while they continued at court: almost all the counsellors were of this opinion, and the most distinguished amongst them qualified it no otherwise, than by saying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, because that acting nothing by himself, he would easily be reduced to reason, when he was separated from those who hurried him on to his ruin. I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its singularity: mine, however, was directly opposite; I could not approve of the arresting of Epemon, or even of Bouillon: if in such cases suspicions were to serve for proofs, it was likewise necessary, I said, to arrest all whom La Fin had accused, and myself the first; that in case they should afterwards be found innocent, they would, by this precipitate action, lose an opportunity of seizing Biron and Auvergne, whose treasons were manifest, since it would be impossible to arrest them all at the same time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing against the prisoners. The arresting of Bouillon and Epemon, I added, would have this farther ill consequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majesty could not dispense with himself from treating them as traitors, through a just fear of what their resentment only of such a public outrage might induce them to act against him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majesty being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

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Peter Fou-
geu, lord of
Descures.

WHEN I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a crowd of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the duke of Epemon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence that I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number; because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court; but those whose consciences are clear need not have recourse to that expedient. I am one

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" of these," added Epernon, " and I am resolved not to leave the court while these discontents continue." " You cannot do better, monseigneur," replied I; " and I promise you, that, on this occasion, you shall not lose the merit of having taken so good a resolution."

WHEN I came home, I ordered my *maitre d'hôtel* not to furnish my table as usual, but to serve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in just as I was sitting down to table: " Come wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given, " and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses and eaten a hasty morsel, ask for the fruit, and, at the same time, order my horse to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleased at this order. " *Pardieu*, monseigneur," said he, " I am not surpris'd that you pass for one of the wisest noblemen in France, I don't know any one who can drink three glasses during the whole time you are at dinner." " Well, well, monsieur Nicolas," replied I, " do you make an end of your dinner, as for me I have business that calls me elsewhere."

I RELATED to his majesty what d'Epéron had said to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epéron had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by persons, whose religion and disposition were different from his, by which likewise, while he had no advantages to hope for, he ran the hazard of being stript of his estates and employments. D'Epéron had judgment enough to know that the scheme of these rebels was likely to be a fatal one. " Not," said the king, " that probably in his heart he is not glad of these disorders, that he may become more necessary to me; but he knows by experience such designs are often blasted." His majesty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to stay at court, but to wait till he went to Poitiers, because he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I used my utmost endeavours for this purpose, in the presence of messieurs de La Nouë, de Constant, d'Aubigne, and de Preaux, but all were ineffectual.

* Simon Nicolas was the king's secretary, " a poet, a facetious man, and an old offender, says the Journal of Henry the IVth. believing in God only for interest, and, for this reason, he became the

" more acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners of those wretched times. He died two years after in the 70th year of his age, in his last illness expressing himself with insupportable impiety."

DURING

DURING their majesties stay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under some perplexity in relating, for it made too much noise to be passed over in silence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, lest I should betray the secret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it personally concerned; the medium therefore which I shall observe, is to recount only so much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

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It was reported that the king and queen had had some difference together, which was confirmed by the king's sending Armagnac for me so early in the morning, that he was still in bed, as well as the queen, and, contrary to their usual custom, each in their several apartments. It was observed that I had been several times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been seen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain some great favour of them. As nothing in such cases escapes the inquisitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon these circumstances, as also that with the names of the king and queen, they heard those of the duke and duchess of Florence, and Mantua, Virgil Urfin, Don John, Bellegarde, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, la Leonor, Gondy, Catherine Selvage, and the marchioness of Verneuil; other persons, they said, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to discover something by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often business with her, and who publicly paid her the same respect as a servant to his mistress, and often addressed her by that title, had been several times sent by the queen to bring her, and that she passed many whole afternoons shut up with her majesty in her closet, when she was alone, or when only la Leonor was with her.

First gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

BUT that which afforded most matter for discourse, was that, at the time when these disputes ran highest, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery that he had lately caused to be built at Blois, over those that were the length of the garden below; it is that in which there is the odd representation of a hind with a stag's horns. It was observed, that his majesty ordered two Swiss, who understood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet closed up, and that, during two hours and more which we continued together,

we

1602. we seemed to talk with great earnestness and action. They might, notwithstanding the distance, hear some of our words, from which they could draw no lights; but it was not the same with those which his majesty spoke when he went out; these they understood, and carefully remembered. "No more need be said of it. I will regulate my whole conduct by your advice, said the king, that I may be no longer reproached with obstinately following my own will; but remember, that we may probably both repent it one day, for you cannot but be affected with any misfortunes that happen to me. I know the disposition of those persons who foment our differences, they will be the cause of great uneasiness to the state: gentleness and indulgence are laudable qualities, I confess; but you cannot deny also, that their extremes are dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewise to distinguish the latter part of my reply to the king: "It was, indeed, a part of prudence, I told him, to foresee and to prevent bad accidents, but it was equally necessary to avoid hastening them by useless precautions." On this they founded their suspicion, that the king had a design to proceed to some violent measures against certain persons of the queen's * household, and who were most in her confidence.

FROM Blois the king came to Poitiers; he afterwards shewed himself in the Limosin and Guienne: his presence produced every where so good an effect, that he found no opposition to his will, not even to the establishment of the penny in the livre †: he might have afterwards continued this impost, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty; but, satisfied with the submission of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a small subsidy, and afterwards to suppress it entirely. The edict of revocation expressed, that his majesty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his subjects. Henry, pleased

* This is speaking very plainly; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can scarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a resolution to clear the court of these informers, who exasperated the queen's mind against him, but likewise to make this princess sensible of her indiscretion, by forbearing to see her, and obliging her to live at a distance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by sending her back to Florence. We may see, in the History of

the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Rosny thought this last course rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumstances considered.

† La Septennaire says, that M. de Rosny was sent for this purpose by his majesty to Rochel; and that he was commissioned by the Rochellers to make remonstrances to the king, for suppressing the pancarte or tariff of this impost.

with

with the success of his journey *, returned again to Fontainebleau, 1602. }
whither he was soon followed by marshal Biron.

THE consternation his party was thrown into by the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not so far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a resolution to go to court, which several other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon such a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate supply of what troops and money he had occasion for. Too glaring a resistance of the king's will might raise suspicions of his treasonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had escaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, represented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refusals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal stroke to the marshal, who was neither in a condition to defend himself, nor to retire into any of his fortresses, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I HAD prepared Biron for this stroke, by the precautions I took some months before: I represented to him, that it was necessary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places of Burgundy should be cast over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myself to all the duties of my employment, as grand master, was alone sufficient to have made this proposal pass unsuspected; but that I might not give the least umbrage by it to the marshal, I was the first to offer him to supply the deficiencies, by furnishing him with plenty of every thing that was necessary from the arsenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I consented that Biron should dispatch some of his soldiers to Lyons, to escort the boats that were to be loaded with the pieces of cannon I was to send him, and that he should receive them before he sent away those he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken such measures every where, that the boats from Lyons which went up the Saone very slowly, were stopped by the way, till those that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his jurisdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther.

* During this journey to Poitiers, says la Septennaire, which lasted near two months, the court seemed melancholy, the king pensive; no councils, no judicial pro-

ceedings were held, except at Blois: all which was owing to the public and private disquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made.

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BIRON did not perceive the artifice I had made use of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he discovered so violent a rage against me, and boasted so publicly that he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewise, as if without design, posted the light horse upon the passage of the Loin. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impossibility they were now under of defending themselves, but that it was necessary they should deceive the king, till by foreign assistance they had provided for their security. Descures and Jeannin acted in such a manner with them, as to increase this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the strongest assurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewise, that he had sought for an interview with the king with no other view than to sound him, and that he had found him very far from guessing the truth; this he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he passed him, he said these words; "Courage, my master, and speak boldly." The council had likewise so carefully kept the secret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was designed against Biron; and d'Epéron hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, sent him such offers of service as are usual amongst persons of high rank †; in which,

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had seen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La-Fin deceived him, by burning, instead of it, a piece of waste paper.

† The duke d'Epéron did not deny, that upon this occasion he had performed all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron: "When he conversed with him upon this affair, says the historian of his life, he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but with great openness and sincerity. He acquainted him with La-Fin's treachery, and shewed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted him to throw himself upon the king's mercy. This clears the duke d'Epéron. Du Pleffis-Bauffonniere, a gentleman of honour, and very much attached to the duke (it is the same whom he sent to meet the marechal) was the person employed to use all sorts of arguments to

"prevail with him to ask the king's pardon; hence this gentleman, assured of his own and his patron's innocence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country, after that the king, who was not ignorant of this step, had caused the marechal de Biron to be arrested; in which he did the duke d'Epéron a considerable service. And he afterwards gave him a second piece of advice, which proved very successful, and that was, to confess freely to his majesty all his proceedings with the marechal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with him." The same historian, in this account, throws in some hints, which discover the very bottom of the duke d'Epéron's sentiments, and which at the same time serve to shew his character: "The duke d'Epéron, says he, and Biron, having gone together to the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his majesty being told beforehand of their
after

after what had passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

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I HAD taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king sent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he affects great modesty and reserve; haste hither speedily, that you may advise us what is to be done: Adieu, my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavilion where I was lodged, with Praslin*, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his walk, told me, that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron † a confession of his crime, although he was so little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majesty afterwards laid open to me his most secret sentiments with regard to the marechal; he still felt for him all his former tenderness, and beheld him not with resentment, but compas-

"coming, placed himself at a window, to observe, through the glafs, their motions and countenance. A friend of the duke d'Epemon, who was about the king, gave him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accordingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and being more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from his conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high indignation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an upright countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where he knew the king leaned. This his majesty took particular notice of, and made those about him do so too. The king afterwards made a match at tennis, in which the count de Soissons, with the king, played against the duke d'Epemon and the marechal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the duke utter a good saying, telling the marechal, "that he played well, but chose his side badly." *Hist. de la vie du duc d'Epemon*, an. 1602. p. 205.

* Charles de Choiseul, marquis de Praslin, captain of the first company of guards, died a marechal of France in the year 1626.

† The king, wearied out with his obstinacy, suddenly left him, saying, as he went away, "Well, I must learn the truth elsewhere: Adieu, baron de Biron." These words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that struck him to the ground; the king thereby degrading him from those many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The same day, after supper, the count de Soissons also exhorted him, in the king's name, to own truth to him; and concluded his remonstrance with this sentence of the wise man, "The anger of kings is the forerunner of death." *Peref. ibid.* After dinner, says le Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majesty, shewing him his statue in relief triumphing over the vanquished, says to him, "Well, cousin, if the king of Spain had seen me thus, what would he say?" To which he lightly made answer, "Sir, he would fear you but little." All the lords that were present took notice of this presumptuous answer, and the king looking sternly at him, Biron, who observed it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that statue, but not this person."

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ſion : ardently he wiſhed, that I would ſuggeſt to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a ſtate criminal : but this was not eaſy to be done, conſidering the diſpoſition Biron was known to be of ; if it was dangerous to ſuffer him to eſcape, when he ſhewed no ſigns of repentance, it was no leſs ſo to releaſe him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treaſon.

THE king once more reſumed a reſolution ſuggeſted to him by the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, which was, to endeavour to reſtore the marechal to a right way of thinking ; but as he had not been able to ſucceed in this attempt himſelf, he ordered me to undertake it, and promiſed me to avow all I ſhould ſay to Biron to engage his ſubmiſſion, provided that I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had ſaid, to prevent the deſign of arreſting him, to which he muſt have recourſe if the marechal perſiſted in his obſtinacy. “ If he opens himſelf freely to you, ſaid the king, upon the confidence you muſt endeavour to inſpire him with of my favourable intentions towards him, aſſure him, that he may come to me without fear, and confeſs all ; and if he diſguiſes no part of the truth, I promiſe you, upon my royal word, I will pardon him chearfully.”

I WENT to the caſtle to ſee the marechal, who was in his majeſty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a ſufficient number of attendants with me : and the marechal, ſeeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to ſalute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to ſoften the reſentment I knew he entertained againſt me : “ How is this !” monſieur, ſaid I, embracing him, you ſalute me with the gravity of a ſenator, contrary to your uſual cuſtom ; you muſt not be thus reſerved, embrace me a ſecond time, and let us talk freely.” When we were ſeated, and out of the hearing of any perſon in the room, “ Well, monſieur,” ſaid I, in an obliging tone, “ what a ſtrange man are you ! have you yet paid your reſpects to the king ? how were you received by him ? what has he ſaid to you ? you know his diſpoſition is frank and open, he likes others to be ſincere with him ; I am told you behaved in a very reſerved manner to him, which was far from being ſeaſonable, nor did it ſuit with either his temper or yours : I am your kinfman, your friend, and your ſervant, take my counſel, and you will find it will be uſeful to you ; tell me freely what you have upon your heart, and depend upon it I will procure

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“ procure you satisfaction ; be not apprehensive that I will deceive you.” To all this Biron contented himself with replying in a cold and indifferent manner, “ I have waited on the king with all the reverence and respect that I owe him ; I have answered all his questions, which were only on general matters, nor had I any thing more to say to him ” “ Ah ! monsieur, replied I, it is not thus that you ought to act with the king : you know the goodness of his heart, open yours to him, and declare freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it should be so, all your grievances, and I promise that, before night, you shall be satisfied with each other.” “ I have nothing more to say either to the king or to you than what I have already said, returned the marechal ; but, if his majesty entertains any suspicion of me, or thinks I have given him any cause of complaint against me, let him or you acquaint me with the occasion of these suspicions and disgusts, and I will give you satisfaction.” “ The king”, said I, in my eagerness to save him, “ is offended at your coldness, for as to other particulars, added I immediately, he is quite ignorant : but let your conscience be your judge, and act in the same manner as if you knew we were informed of your most secret actions, nay even your words and thoughts ; for I protest to you upon my honour, this is the most certain way to obtain whatever you can desire from the king. The method I recommend to you I always follow myself : if it ever happens that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the king, who then grants me all I wish : if you will believe me and take my counsel, dear marechal, pursued I, you and I shall govern the court and be at the head of affairs.” “ I am willing to believe you,” replied Biron with the same coldness, “ but I have nothing to accuse myself of ; I feel my conscience perfectly at ease, since the confession I made the king at Lyons.” Although I had probably said but too much already, yet I could not hinder myself from making him still several other instances, which he received no better, and soon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

THE king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had said to Biron, and his answers. “ You have gone rather too far, said this prince to me, and have said enough to create some suspicion in him, and even to induce him to fly. “ Go into that gallery,” added his majesty, after reflecting some moments upon the blindness and obstinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, “ and wait

1602. "for me there; I would talk to my wife and you alone." Accordingly he returned a short time afterwards with the queen, and shutting the door of the gallery, he told us, that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the safety and happiness of the state, leaving him no other part to take but that of arresting marechal Biron and the count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was to consider how to do it securely *. His majesty was of opinion, that we should wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his respective lodging, and that then soldiers should be sent to invest them. I proposed that they should be in the king's closet till the night was far advanced, and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majesty's retiring, should be withdrawn, they should then be seized as they went out of the king's apartment. "I do not see how this can be done, replied Henry, "without having my chamber and closet filled with blood; for they will not fail to draw their swords and defend themselves, and if this should happen, I had rather it were in their apartment than mine." I thought it of most consequence, upon this occasion, to avoid, as much as possible, all noise and confusion; but the king continuing firm in his first proposal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to supper, "and at nine o'clock, said he, let your horses be prepared, "and you and all your people be booted, ready to mount and set out "when I send for you."

I WITHDREW to my pavillion, where, after giving orders conformable to those I had received from his majesty, I went into my closet, from whence I could see all that passed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavillion opposite to mine. I read and walked about alter-

* It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain person put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after supper, in the name of the countess de Roussy his sister, and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no answer, he doubted something else was the matter, and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arrested, and directly shewed it to one of his friends called De Carbonnieres, who said to him, Then, adieu, sir, I wish I had a

poignard in my breast, provided you were now safe in Burgundy. To this he made answer, suppose I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithstanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midst of his game, the sieur de Mergé, a gentleman of Burgundy, was observed to whisper somewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d'Auvergne came also and twice touched him on the side, telling him, "It is not safe "for us to be here." Sept. *ibid.*

nately,

nately, without neglecting to observe what was doing on that side where I expected soon to see the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock struck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, said I, returning into my chamber, where all my domestics waited for the scene that was preparing, some at play, some in conversation, and others asleep, I am afraid, said I, that they have not taken their measures right, and have suffered the birds, which with so little difficulty they might have taken, to escape, and which will not be easily entrapped again. I then ordered them to saddle my horses, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I CONTINUED there half an hour, after which I heard a noise at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, Monsieur, the king sends for you. I looked out at the window, and knew the messenger to be La Varenne, who went on saying, "Monsieur, come immediately, the king wants to speak with you, and to send you to Paris, to give the necessary orders there, for messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne are made prisoners." "And where were they taken, said I*." "In the king's closet," hereplied. "God be praised, said I, that the king has followed that advice." I ran directly to his majesty's apartment. "Our men are seized, said he to me, mount your horse, and go and prepare their lodgings in the Bastile; I shall send them in a boat to the gate of the arsenal next the river: make them land there, that they may not be seen, and carry them without any noise through the midst of your courts and gardens. When you have made proper dispositions in the arsenal for their reception, if you can, before they arrive, which they will do soon after you, go to the parliament and the town-house, and declare there what has happened; tell them, that, at my arrival, they shall know the reasons for this proceeding,

* Vitry arrested the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, says he to him, the king has commanded me to give him an account of your person, deliver me your sword." "You but jest," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins Vitry, the king has so commanded me." "Pray, says the marechal again, let me speak to the king." "No Sir, returns Vitry, the king is re-tired to rest." Praslin waited at the same time for the count d'Auvergne at the

gate of the castle, to whom, as he came out, he said, "You are the king's prisoner." "What I, I," returned the count d'Auvergne much surpris'd. "Yes you, Sir, says Praslin to him, I arrest you in the king's name, deliver me your sword." "Here take it, replies the count, it has never killed any but wild boars; if you had acquainted me sooner of this, I would have been in bed and asleep two hours ago,

" which

1602. "which they will find to be just." All these orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment that the prisoners landed at the arsenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine, who bore the title of *mademoiselle de Sully*.

I GAVE the care of the prisoners to the soldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and posted them in such a manner that they might be said to be guards upon each other. I likewise placed a guard upon the bastion opposite to the windows in the prisoners apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower; so that, as I wrote to the king, it was impossible they should escape unless by the interposition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majesty obliged me to take all these precautions. A few days after the detention of the prisoners, the king wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a scheme laid to procure their escape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I should answer for them. I consented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my soldiers, who, to make an escape practicable, must have been corrupted every one. Another time the king sent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was also against my person: a boat full of soldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the steps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the same by the second, and get into my chamber while I was in bed and carry me to Franche-Comté, fresh horses being in readiness for them at the end of every ten leagues, and that, when in possession of my person, they were to deal with me by way of reprisal, as Biron should be dealt with. This last information, although so circumstantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the rest: I thanked his majesty, however, for giving it me. He had the goodness to command me to be strictly attentive to my own safety, assuring me, that, if the design which was laid against me should succeed, he would not hesitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners, and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

THE first president, the president de * Blancmesnil, and the two counsellors de Fleury and de Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president; bert de Thurin, counsellor of the grand Nicholas de Potier sieur de Blancmesnil, chamber. president; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Phil-

carried into a small pavillion in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared for them, in which they were carried thither and brought back again without being seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one, and that marshal Biron*, seeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said, was all the present he had to make her; and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weaknesses which this man†, who, amidst the greatest dangers of war, had

* The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

† These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well by amusing the marshal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning to the honour of learning, that marshal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition, as the son for ignorance: he could scarcely read. The following account of him from the *Chronologie Septennaire*, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He was particularly fond of splendor, proud, and ostentatious, and even has been often known to despise the pleasures of the table and live abstemiously, that he might gratify his fantastic passion for glory; he was daring in battle and immeasurably ambitious: he was so presumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor France could do without him; he was also become so malevolent and sinisterous, that he spoke ill of all princes; he has been often heard to ridicule the

"mads, and make a jest of the pretended reformed: there are numberless instances given of his having but little religion; he relied very much on the predictions of astrologers and divines." The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to consult, under a borrowed name, the old astrologer La Brosse, the same of whom M. de Sully speaks so often in his memoirs. "This good man, says he, who was then in a little tower or garret that served him for a study, said to him, Well my son, I see the person for whom this horoscope is cast will arrive at great honours through his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a king, but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it." "And what is the meaning of that, says the baron de Biron." "Don't ask me the meaning of it, returns La Brosse?" "No, says the baron, but I must know." After many altercations between them, La Brosse at length said, "The meaning is this, my friend, he will do so much that he shall have his head cut off." Upon this, the baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards leaving him half dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the door with him." This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of sense would have stewn any regard.

1602. acquired the character of intrepid, shewed at his execution, have furnished matter for much discourse, and doubtless will not be forgot by historians: as for me I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, some circumstances that regard me personally.

WHILE preparations were making for trying the two state prisoners, they often desired to speak with me *: two considerations hindered me from giving them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of Biron, whose death was too necessary for the good of the state, and too firmly resolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon; and secondly, having been comprehended myself in La Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavours with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connexion with Biron, they should think that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He revered my innocence, and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

DEFFUNCTIS, grand-provost of the Isle-de-France, took down in writing all the conversations in which marshal Biron had men-

* He requested the sieur de Baranton, M. de Praslin's lieutenant, to wait on M. de Rosny from him, and tell him that he desired to see him; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earnestly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of service which he expected from him, as he always had a great esteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and such a friend that, had he been persuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was; that there were persons more guilty than himself, but that he was the most unfortunate of them all; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earnest entreaties which the sieur de Baranton made in his name so greatly affected M. de Rosny and his lady, the sieur Zamet and

others who were present, that they were unable to speak for some time, and sat listening in tears. At length M. de Rosny broke silence and said, "I cannot see him" nor intercede for him, it is now too late; "had he been persuaded by me, he had not been in this melancholy situation, for he ought to have declared the truth to his majesty from the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; and since he did not so, he has taken from the king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that of interceding for him." Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482 to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke de Sully is conformable to that in our Memoirs.

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tioned my name, and gave the manuscript to me some time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confession to the sieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, asked if there was no person there belonging to monsieur de Rosny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him, and said, "Monsieur Arnaud, I desire you will carry my last farewell to monsieur de Rosny, and tell him, that to-day he loses one of his best friends, and the most affectionate kinsman and servant he ever had: I have always highly esteemed his merit and valued his friendship. Alas!" said he, after raising his voice and shedding some tears, which obliged him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief, "had I believed him, I should have avoided this fate: tell him, I beseech you, that I recommend my brothers to him, particularly my brother * Saint Blancard who is his nephew, and that I entreat he will give my youngest brother some post about the dauphin, and that he would tell them, that, although I have failed in my duty and obedience, yet that they ought faithfully to perform theirs, and continue always firm in their attachment to the king; but that he would not let them come immediately to court, lest they should suffer any reproaches on my account." Another time Biron talking of me, said, "The king has, in monsieur de Rosny, a faithful servant, and a wise and prudent counsellor; his majesty has done well to make use of him; for while he continues to direct his councils, France will be happy, and I might have been so likewise had I governed myself by his advice." On any other occasion I should have avoided inserting, in these Memoirs, such discourses in my praise; but on this I did not think myself at liberty to make the least alteration in the marshal's words. I was ignorant of his having given these public testimonies of his esteem for me, when I joined with the rest of his relations † in im-

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* John de Gontaut, seigneur de Saint Blancard, had married mademoiselle de Saint-Geniès, niece to M. de Sully. The marshal de Biron had no other brothers living; he must therefore comprehend under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Messieurs de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Rouilly, de Chateaufort, de Thérmines, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went three days after the arrest of marshal de Biron, to throw themselves at the feet of his majesty, who was

then at S. Maur des Fossés, but they could obtain no other favour than that which our author speaks of here. Henry comforted them by reminding them of the example of the constable of Saint Paul, allied to the house of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a similar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the same fate had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Biblioth. royale, vol. 9129. where likewise may be seen a collection of pieces relating to the marshal de Biron's process.

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ploring a favour for him, a slight one indeed, it was only to change the place destined for his execution; accordingly, instead of the Grève, which was named in the sentence that was passed upon him, his majesty permitted the marechal to be beheaded in the court of the Bastile.

THE death of Biron entirely disconcerted all the schemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been sent at the same time by his majesty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of all the places there which had been held by marechal Biron, without striking a blow, and sent Senecé to inform the king that this province had submitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings against the conspirators stopped here; and, except Fontenelles *, whom Henry thought it necessary to punish for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the rest. The number of the conspirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the most considerable courtiers † were involved in the guilt. I strengthened as much as possible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned those whom I knew to have had some share in the confidence of Biron, and represented to them so plainly, that all they had now to do was to throw themselves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almost all pursued this method: the secrecy which I promised them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cause to repent of a step of which the king and myself only were witnesses, they were soon convinced that his majesty not only took care to shew he had no resentment against them, but likewise appeared to hold them in higher esteem than before. Hebert, who was secretary to the party, and had been several times sent into Milan and throughout all Italy by marechal Biron, was likewise arrested. I was ordered to interrogate him in the presence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depositions, the king having promised him a pardon upon condition that he sincerely declared all he knew.

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenès to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a sledge, and broke alive in the Grève. "The king," says M. de Perefexé, in consideration of his family, which was very illustrious, granted to his relations that, in the arrest, he should not be called by his

own name: but history could not conceal it. M. De Thou, liv. 128, speaks of him as of a fellow, who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was something more than mere suspicions against the constable de Montmorency, and even against the duke de Montpensier. *Mém. second. vol. I. p. 103.*

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The principal discovery he made, and that which gave the fullest conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonso Casal had been sent by that court at different times with large sums of money to marshal Biron. To convince Hebert that his majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, signed by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

THE baron de Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty; his perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to stay in, the kingdom; he was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majesty with an order to attend him, promising him his pardon, at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his accusers; that he should be continued in his post *, and permitted to retire from court after his confession: he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or insincere. There being no letter from his majesty, De Lux appeared contented with a promise under my hand that he should receive no harm.

THE king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majesty as he was going to hunt, threw himself at his feet, and was beginning a long speech, when the king, who had not leisure to hear him then, stopped him short, by saying, "Go to monsieur de Rosny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was sent, raised such apprehensions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his escape. However, he came to the arsenal, but under such terrors, that, instead of listening to any thing I said to him, he was continually looking round him, and his apprehensions were increased when he saw his majesty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arsenal, the king having sent them thither, because he intended to pass by the arsenal in his return from the chace. De Lux now thought himself lost. "Ah! monsieur, said he "to me, I came hither upon the king's word and yours; do you in-

* He was governor of the castle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

1602. "tend to detain me." "Why do you ask me this question, monsieur, said I." "The guards, said he, which I perceive entering in files, persuaded me that it is not the king who is coming, but that they are probably sent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to speak to the king before he was confined, promising, and I believe very sincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have observed your uneasiness, replied I, but be not afraid, I have no orders to arrest you; speak freely to the king, swear to be faithful to him, and keep your oath, you will then have nothing to apprehend; had the duke of Biron acted in that manner, he would have been now alive." That moment a messenger informed me that the king was returned to the Louvre, and desired to speak with me: the evening was so far advanced before the chase was ended, that, instead of coming to the arsenal as he had proposed, he went directly to the palace. This message relieved the baron De Lux from his terrors.

THE next day he had a conference with his majesty, which lasted above four hours; he gave no cause for accusing him of indiscretion in concealing his accomplices, but named such a prodigious number of persons, that Henry, glad to find in such general accusations a pretence for believing none and for making himself easy, treated all those whom De Lux accused, and who were continually about him, no less favourably than before. It is certain, however, that many of them were acquainted with marechal Biron's designs, but the hope of remaining unnoticed amongst the crowd, determined them not to own their connexions with him, notwithstanding all the advances and promises which I made them. The constable had indeed kept up a sort of intimacy with Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoided; but, as I was persuaded that it was merely personal and extended no further, I thought myself obliged to justify him to his majesty, on whom his assurances of fidelity made so little impression, that he could not help regarding him with an eye of suspicion: I may say with truth, that my endeavours did not a little contribute towards restoring him to the king's favour; and this prince had no reason to repent of his clemency, either to him or any of the others *, except only the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

* It is not certain that Henry the IVth never had reason to repent of this indulgence. As to the assassination of this prince there remains a great many doubts, the

clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by supposing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the

THE nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs against them, made it highly probable that their punishment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he caused to be intimated to him by the constable, but also softened, as much as possible, the inconvenience of his imprisonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Bastile for his table, discharged him of the expence of the officers and soldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my representations that a greater number was useless. At first, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terrasses, but afterwards he was indulged in all his desires; and at length wholly * discharged from his confinement. He had been so little accustomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he said, it signified nothing, unless he gave him his liberty likewise.

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THOSE who praise alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to justify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the services his majesty might expect from the count of Auvergne, in discovering to him the plots of the Spanish party against France, made it necessary to pardon him for his own interest. For my own part, I am too candid not to confess, that on this occasion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his passion for the marchioness of Verneuil, sister to the count of Auvergne; which was the sole cause of the indulgence he shewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the subject, being persuaded, that all the arguments I could use at the time would have no force against the prayers and tears of a mistress; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpose to shew him his error. It was not till after

conspiracy here spoken of, we may still believe that this catastrophe had not happened, if the conspirators had been prosecuted with more severity: in this case it must be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Rosny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author says four lines higher of those

who boldly concealed themselves among the croud, sufficiently shews, that the spirit of revolt was not extinguished by the death of its head.

* In the beginning of October. "It was not," says le Septennaire, without having "first made an open confession to messieurs the chancellor, de Sillery, and Rosny."

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1602. the count of Auvergne had, by new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himself.

ONE day, when the king and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after viewing me silently for some time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly surprized at my not asking him his reasons for preserving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his majesty for fear of offending him. Henry answered immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shewn the prisoner, regarded the marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me, that that alone had been but sufficient to have commuted his punishment into a perpetual imprisonment; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeatedly to tell him what it was. I confessed to him, that it had been always my opinion, that his majesty would not inflict a shameful death upon a man who would be always considered as the uncle of his children, in case he should have any by the marchioness of Verneuil. Henry swore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections so far, although that consideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he insisted upon my guessing, in my turn, the true reason that had induced him to set Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the solicitations of his mistress, the intreaties of the constable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themselves at his feet, had not had so great a share in that resolution as I imagined, they having contented themselves with asking only the life of the prisoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that this chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promises he made him, and the air of sincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had passed between himself and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many assurances of a sincere repentance, and protestations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promised him, with the most sacred oaths, if he would restore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the most secret resolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accomplish which, he

he had only to resume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his side would be only feigned : but that this dissimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the punishment of a traitor, it was necessary that his majesty should not reveal to any of his ministers what he then said, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he should receive from thence. 1602.

THE king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himself to believe the promises Auvergne made him, or suppose that he could fall so low, as to take up the trade of a spy, and become a double traitor ; but that after the count had assured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promises, and make use of him to procure such intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means ; and in this expectation, he had promised Auvergne secrecy, and the other condition he had demanded.

THE conclusion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his passion for his mistress ; this was the fascination that closed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne ; and after having prevailed upon him to spare his life, snatched from him likewise the grant of his liberty, and that upon so slight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed, whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word, but by suffering himself to be seduced a second time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

IT must likewise be confessed, that he was ingenious, subtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent ; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act : but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous passions, he had in his heart such a fund of malice and perfidiousness, that it was easy to see he would resume his former dispositions ; but he resumed them with so much address, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himself secure. He often conferred with his majesty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him, the better to play his part ; but all he said might be reduced to matters of little consequence ; while,

1602. while to the court of Spain he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that passed in France. I shall return to him again in the sequel.

THE prince of Joinville *, to whom Henry likewise extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character; nothing could be more light, more whimsical, and more unsteady; he had engaged himself with bad company, among whom, to be in the fashion, and to appear a man of consequence, it was necessary that he should have correspondences without the kingdom; this was sufficient to spoil him entirely. His majesty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the king of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested: as soon as he found himself in custody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confession, provided that it was to the king in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I was just arrived, and preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any farther. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning, that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an inexperienced youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The king entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the dutchess of Guise, and the duke, his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here, said he, is the prodigal son himself, I shall use him like a child, and pardon him for yours and "monseigneur de Rosny's sake, who has entreated for him; but I do it upon condition that you will all three reprove him severely, and that "you, nephew," added he, turning to the duke of Guise, "will answer for his conduct for the future: I give him to your care, make "him wise, if it be possible."

* Claude de Lorraine, fourth son to Blois; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuse, and died in 1657.

THIS change was not so easy a thing to effect on a young man of lively passions, incapable of instruction, and whose disposition had already taken its bent: he was suffered to remain in prison for some months, where at first he was obstinately sullen, then insolent and furious, and at last, through mere weariness, promised to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king consented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the castle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleased with this place than his prison, and represented to the king, that he could not reside in a castle which was not furnished. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falshood: having often hunted near that castle and Chevreuse, which is but at a small distance from it, the keeper of those two houses had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the duchess of Guise, that Dampierre was as well furnished as Chevreuse. This behaviour of Joinville's so incensed the king against him, that he reproached me for the too great interest I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myself less with them for the future. And now his majesty, instead of revoking his sentence, declared that the prisoner should be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promised to make a fuller confession than he had yet done; but being, as he said, apprehensive that his majesty was still angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the person to whom he spoke. 1602.

THE duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his estates, as he had promised the king; therefore, after Biron was arrested, his majesty judged it necessary to write to him, to see if upon this occasion Bouillon would not give some proof of his connexion with the prisoner: he informed him, that marechal Biron had been convicted of conspiring against the state; and that when he came to court he would shew him the proofs of his treason, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; satisfying himself with thus insinuating that he expected the performance of his promise, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design of this letter, and answered it no otherwise, than by sending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majesty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had escaped. By this person he sent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided saying any thing from which the least advantage could be taken, either because he had already learnt that his associate was seized, or that his imagination

1602. tion suggested to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to assume. He told me, that never had any one's astonishment equalled his, when he learned that the state and the king's person had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readiness he shewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's service called him, would, he hoped, convince his majesty, that he should never have the like reason to be apprehensive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms such as these: he could not, however, hinder himself from hinting something in favour of the accused, but in a manner so general as could not hurt him. After expressing his wishes, that this event might not give his majesty any disturbance, he added these words, "nor alter the natural sweetness of his disposition."

THE king, when I shewed him this letter, thought he might make use of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durst not send him an absolute command to come, lest by a refusal he should lay him under the necessity of punishing him for his disobedience by the force of arms, which he neither chose nor could conveniently do; he therefore told me, that since Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his majesty, either to justify his innocence, or, by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it; and that I should assure him, that I would give him my word, or if necessary become his surety, that so far from having any thing to fear, he should be received by the king with open arms. Henry knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him; and not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms: "I promise to M. de Rosny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes to court upon his letters, and the promises he shall make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or give the duke free leave to retire where-ever he pleases; and neither in his journey to or from the court shall he receive any disturbance: for all which I engage my faith and royal word to the said sieur de Rosny. Given at Paris, June 24, 1602."

I WROTE

I WROTE to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majesty entered into with me concerning him, pressed him in the strongest terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and settle for some time at court. This letter Bouillon received almost at the same time with the verbal answer the king sent him by his deputy, and took occasion, from his majesty's not having himself pressed him to come, to tell me in answer, that the advice I gave him being inconsistent with the king's orders, he could not govern himself by it, whatever inclination he might have to do so; and that he would content himself with sending to court, as his majesty required, a person who should give as satisfactory an account of his conduct as he himself could do, and ought to be equally depended upon. This person was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the same time that I received Bouillon's answer to my letter, and whose expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, because, in appearance, he came by his majesty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, instead of coming himself, removed still farther from court and went to Castres.

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I AM not surprized that my arguments had on this occasion so little weight with him, since he regarded me as his enemy, and did not scruple to call me so in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himself in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year: nor was I more surprized at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majesty. As soon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourse to dissimulation with him, he supposed it easy enough to impose upon his majesty and his council without risking any danger; for this purpose, all that was necessary was, to answer, in * appearance, always with great submission, without taking any of those measures which they durst not formally prescribe to him. This artifice succeeded so well, that he made use of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modest or respectful terms, than the letter he wrote on this subject to Du-Maurier; and which, after his majesty had perused it, was given to me, to be communicated to the chancellor

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroy's *Memoires d'Etat*, p. 158, & seq. See likewise the reasons which the historians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accusation

of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refusing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Castres. Liv. v. p. 222, & seq.

1602. and the duke d'Epemon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king strongly interested himself in it, and had a conference with Constant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, that lasted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

THE game which upon this occasion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was still more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more especially England and Scotland, whose ambassadors were still at Paris, congratulated his majesty, upon his having so happily crushed this dangerous conspiracy. Philip and Charles-Emanuel appeared more eager than any of the others in complimenting the king upon this event: unless fear was their motive, it is not easy to guess what could oblige them to have recourse to so gross an artifice. Henry was more sincere with them; he declared to them, that he was well informed of the part they had both had in the plot; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly, as if it had been possible to have persuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permission, to act in concert with Biron and the other conspirators.

THE king, some days after the execution of marechal Biron, coming to the arsenal, I had a conversation with this prince that well deserves to be related: "You see," said he to me, after making some reflections, as usual, upon the ingratitude of messieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the most considerable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whose names he mentioned, "you see that those on whom I have bestowed the greatest favours, are the same persons by whose ambition and caprice I have suffered the most." He then observed to me, that these six men had, at different times, received larger sums from him, than the five kings his predecessors, except Henry III. who had been accused of such great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to silence those who always unreasonably enumerated the services of these six gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him since they had entered into his service; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but those presents which his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not such possessions as they had acquired by his assistance, and enjoyed through his protection; such, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having first procured,

and

and then secured him the possession of it, as has been seen, on an occasion sufficiently perplexing.

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THE king, whose sole view in entering upon this subject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this discourse, which might have some relation to the present state of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a lesson, being too well persuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occasion for it; but that having seriously reflected upon the manner in which it was necessary he should behave to me, that he might not expose himself to the mortification of seeing the confidence he had in me lessened, he thought prudence required that he should take two precautions, with respect to me, in the rewards my services and family deserved from him; "One of these precautions," said the king, has a reference to the world, the other to myself: "first, that these rewards should neither succeed each other so rapidly, nor in themselves be so excessive, as to render you the object of public hatred, always ready to break out against first ministers: and the second, that these estates and these honours should be of such a nature, as, if it should happen that through religion, or any other motive, you should be capable of violating your duty, they may not put you into a condition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor himself, or, after his death, of disturbing the tranquillity of his successor, or of putting the state in danger: in one word," said this prince, after giving me to understand, that as he spoke without any disguise, he would permit me to tell him my sentiments freely likewise, "I would take from myself the least occasion of suspicion against you, that my friendship for you may continue unalterable. I daily experience so many instances of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contrary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be distrustful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I shall put you in possession of great cities and strong fortresses, which, in the high credit you are in, and the great abilities you are master of, might make you independent of me, and enable you, whenever you pleased, to throw the kingdom into confusion. I cannot do more for you than ought to be done for a servant, however faithful he may be, by a prince who has his honour, his reputation, and the interest of his people, at heart."

HENRY, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to my salaries and pensions, which were but sufficient to

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to answer the expences of my table and house, an extraordinary gratuity of sixty thousand livres a year; that by uniting this sum to my own estate I might purchase more lands, build upon them, furnish and embellish my new houses, and more advantageously settle my children; telling me graciously, that he still reserved to himself to give me other proofs of his friendship and liberality: "And this, pursued " he, I shall do with the more willingness, as I am assured you will " not squander these sums foolishly on entertainments, dogs, horses, " birds, and mistresses."


DURING this long discourse of Henry's my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me listen to him in silence; the reflections it occasioned left me still more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he reposed in me, than discontented with a caution which many others in my situation would have thought excessive. The king having commanded me to be very sincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an absolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majesty, nor his successors, nor the state, should ever have any cause for those apprehensions of me which his wisdom had suggested, yet I myself did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himself up blindly to one person, whatever services he may have received from him, since it is next to impossible that any one should be able to answer for the wisdom and justice of his counsels for the future: therefore, instead of thinking myself injured, I found cause, in all his majesty had said, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodness, since whatever bounds he should prescribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my services.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant insinuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majesty, had had some share in those fears he expressed of me, I seized this opportunity to explain myself on an article, which from this moment I foresaw I should be under a necessity of returning to more than once. I begged his majesty would permit me to represent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poisonous reports of informers, without having first had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myself. I assured him, that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which alone deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that he should be convinced that what my enemies

enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that, through impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves that served for a foundation for the calumny. 1602.

WHAT I then said to the king, I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modesty, which holds the place of justification; I am conscious I have no occasion for it, but because that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have, nevertheless, been more than once obliged to justify myself to the prince whom I served: if this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have deserved, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry, if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to defend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained for me, we must not consider him in those moments when the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude, awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart in spite of him to distrust and suspicion; but, when recovered from those impressions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the sincerest proofs of his tenderness and esteem. The world therefore may judge as it pleases of those little disgraces which I have been obliged to sustain during the course of what will be called my glory and prosperity, and which probably any other might have suppressed, for the honour of having it said, that he directed as he pleased the inclinations of his master; on this subject I shall use neither disguise nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and instruction is my end.

THE duke of Luxembourg having had a cause brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the assurance

1602.  surance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to issue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and settled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be constrained to deliver up these, which they generally kept till their demands were satisfied. The necessity of putting a curb to the avarice of these people had always appeared so strong, that the States had already given the same orders, but to no purpose. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them, but the lawyers, instead of submitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public register the ensigns of their office, which produced a total cessation of law proceedings. There was almost a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and badauds *, a set of wretches with which the town is crowded, who, taking upon them to be wiser than the king, the peers, and the states of the kingdom, decided against them in favour of the advocates †, and found some abettors, even at court, who, with so much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itself and easily remedied, that the king was stunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the consequence.

Ordonnance
de Blois, art.
162.

WHILE this affair was yet in agitation, his majesty being one day in his closet conversing with some of the courtiers, and relating the continual solicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not surpris'd at it," said Sigogne, raising his voice and assuming the air of one in a violent passion; "these men make it plainly appear that they know not how to employ their time, since they disturb themselves so much about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one would think the state, without these bawlers, would be ruined; as if the kingdom under Charlemagne, and so many other great kings, during whose reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were heard of, was not in as flourishing a condition as it is at present when we are devoured by these vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the establishment of advocates in France was not very an-

* Such as are styled cockneys at London.

† Mattieue, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. seems, in like manner, to take the part of the advocates. and yet, for all this, every good man must be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the sequel

of these Memoirs, he proposes the means of considerably diminishing the number of processes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly used for business, to remedy the abuses of which he complains.

cient, produced the register of the chancery, of which the first paper is intituled, *A permission to plead causes by an advocate*; and, perceiving that he was listened to with pleasure, he added, that this science was established to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the destruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not, said he, any artist, or even any simple labourer, that is not of more use to the community, than this swarm of men who enrich themselves by our follies, and the artifices they have invented to stifle truth, throw down all right, and darken reason. If we are so blind," continued he, with a vivacity truly diverting, "that we will not, and so unhappy that we cannot, do without them, nothing remains to be done but to command them to resume the exercise of their employment within eight days at farthest, upon the conditions prescribed by the court, upon pain of being obliged to return to the shop or the plough that they have quitted, or else to serve the state in Flanders with a musquet upon their shoulders. I'll answer for it, if this method be taken with them, we shall soon see them run with eagerness to resume these magnificent ensigns, like vermin towards a heap of wheat."

THERE was not one in the company who could forbear smiling at this lively fally of Sigogne's, and the king was among the first, and confessed that his arguments were very convincing; but whether it was that he suffered himself to be overcome by the solicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arret should, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous business terminated; for reflexions upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: so the world was left to think that it was I who made him speak them †.

* The medium made use of by the king's people, who underhand favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king should send new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to resume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrets of parliament, and the ordinances of the states. But, as these letters did at the

same time allow them to make such remonstrances as they should think reasonable, with regard to the exercise of their several employments, and as they were particularly assured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to submit thereto. De Thou, liv. cxxviii. Sept. an. 1602.

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down

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THIS naturally leads me to take notice of the great law suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiné against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and affixed in this province: myself, together with thirteen other commissaries, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it, but it was six years before it could be decided; the animosity between the parties concerned was so great, that there was a necessity for sending a second time to take informations upon the spot. I took a more speedy method to bring a man, named Jousseau, to justice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I caused him to be seized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too severely punished. The king again shewed himself solicitous for the interest of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treasurers-general of Burgundy; some draughts had been made on them for the charges of garrisons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad design. I advised his majesty to send thither a commissary on whose probity he could depend; he did so, and this man began by suspending those men from their employments, and himself performed the duties of treasurer. The money that was expended upon this occasion was raised out of the salaries of these receivers and treasurers, "That I, said Henry, may not pay the penalty for the fault they have committed against my service and their duty."

here. Henry one time hunting on the side of Grolbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Creteil, which is a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if she had any thing for him to eat, to which she answered no, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then asked her, for whom is this roast-meat I see at the fire? For some gentlemen, replies she, that are above, and whom I take to be solicitors. The king sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let

him have a piece of their roast-meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table upon paying for it, both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize these solicitors, and carry them away to Grolbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. "This the said sieur Vitry saw punctually and speedily performed, says the author, notwithstanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the lawyers."

To prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin I found a method less tedious and severe than punishments and confiscations, which was only to raise their value *, there being no reason why they should

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* The crown called *écu d'or au soleil*, which was valued at sixty sols *tournois*, was raised to sixty-five; that called *écu pistolet* of fifty-eight sols, to sixty-two, and so of the other gold species: the silver franc of twenty sols was raised one sol and four deniers, and the rest in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance passed, about the raising the value of money, and the re-establishing of reckoning by *livres*; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, since the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by *livres*. Matthieu very highly approves of both these regulations of the duke of Sully's, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, says, p. 351. 372, et seq. that, whatever cogent reasons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itself, because the gold and silver species were afterwards raised as much in seven years alone, as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, because that goods and merchandise were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems, to me, to be grounded upon stronger reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of those who had their revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordonnance of 1577 secured the effects of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected these two regulations here spoken of, to prevent these disorders, which were, according to him, the too

great plenty of foreign species that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible, that his complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shewn, a little higher, in what sense it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourse, would be more proper to heighten than lessen it.

As to the raising of the price of goods, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by *livres*, will appear, to every one, very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe, since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us now with these metals, but also with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A state that should be conducted by this principle, would, among the other states of Europe, make the same figure, as the republic of Lacedemon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and goods, and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raising the price of corn, for example, then agri-

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be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the same time, I settled, over all the kingdom, the way of reckoning by livres, instead of crowns, as had been till then the practice: by some this may be thought an

culture is neglected. If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, those people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief view of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its current value in reckoning might, in some measure, prevent it, in annihilating or diminishing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and, apparently, this was the only reason that determined him. The narrow views of his age, with regard to the finances, and still more as to commerce, did not allow him to see that he destroyed a slight corruption by one a great deal more considerable, nor suffer him to go up to the source of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of commerce, and consequently the greatest quantity of gold and silver, will remain in that nation which shall have made all others depend most upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as long as the balance of trade shall be in favour of some one neighbouring nation, this prohibition of exporting gold and silver, is neither reasonable nor practicable. At present, when we begin to see a little more clearly into these matters, there is no one but agrees, that all these regulations, and this whole train of reasoning, did not reach the end proposed. Though the exigency of circumstances, which is almost endless, does not permit either the providing against, or the subjecting every thing to a single rule, we may, however, aver, that on the article of money and commerce, there are two general and very simple maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and these are, to avoid, with the greatest care imaginable, meddling with the coin, and endeavour, continually, to render the French as laborious, industrious, and frugal as possible. The frequent variations in the coin give mortal wounds both to domestic and

foreign trade, by the extinction of credit, the shutting up of private purses, the embarrassment and disadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of estates: all this is palpable and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who appears to be the only one who gains by such proceedings, to put the case impartially, always loses considerably more thereby than he gains; besides, that the insolvency of his subjects is an evil which he always shares with them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his expenses increase with the coin, so as not to be diminished even when that does.

The other principle has still less need of proof. It seems, that nature has reserved to France the sovereignty of trade, from the advantage of her situation, and the goodness of her soil, which obliges a great part of her neighbours to have recourse to her for all those things that supply the first and essential necessities of life: she has no more to do than to share, at least equally with them in the commerce of all those things that serve but for mere convenience, or which luxury has introduced into Europe. If the consumption of the latter should exceed the produce of the former, we shall complain unjustly of our condition; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our materials of gold and silver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted to these foreigners, is endeavouring to make the effect cease, without removing the cause; but to set a Frenchman to commerce that is carried on by sea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as possible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but superfluities, and, on the other hand, to increase his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the interest of trade. Besides Le Blanc and Matthieu, consult on the subject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Peruseless

useless refinement, since all the ways of reckoning must come to the same thing at last: I am, however, of opinion, experience having shewn me, that the custom of talking always of crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had im-

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fixe, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the history of these regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reasonings of these writers on this whole matter are but little satisfactory: we might well say of them what the duke of Sully said of the parliament of Paris, "They are masters of arts which none of them know any thing of." Mem. pour l'hist. de France.

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will supply that part from the same Memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & seq. Tho' this writer seems not even to understand the state of the question, and speaks not very favourably of the king and his ministers. "At that time," says he, speaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this subject in 1609, "there was brought upon the carpet, and proposed to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to diminish and alter, that is, to raise its value, and by the same means to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this proposal: the king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the world, even at his own ministers, and their remonstrances, as he did at the first president of the mint (William Le-Clerc) who being disconcerted in his speech, having been twice interrupted by his majesty's breaking into a fit of laughter, which made him stop short in the middle thereof; and upon his majesty's observing it, he says to him, Go on, Mr. president, for I am not laughing at you, but at my cousin, the count of Soissons, who is near me, and tells me, that he smells a shoulder of mutton. This second stroke struck him quite dumb. Upon which, the king falling into a fit of laughter, went away and left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of the principal persons that

"had communicated this project of the edict to the king, pressed much for its being put in execution. The king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, seeing himself continually teased by this rude contractor, at length asked him what countryman he was; to which he answered, I am a native of Perigord. *Ventre-saint-gris*, replies the king, I always thought so; for in that country they are all false coiners.—On Saturday, the 5th of September, the court being met on the edit de monnoies, rejected it entirely; *Nec debemus, nec possumus*, we neither ought nor can, concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to the mint were sent for; among whom one of the reformed religion, called Bizeul, spoke his sentiments very freely, for which he was highly commended; and M. le Premier president said, *Non in parabolis iste lacus est nobis*. It must be observed, that as soon as the people belonging to the coinage had entered the chamber, the first president said to them, Sit down and be covered, and you shall speak presently. On Tuesday the 8th, in the evening, M. de Sully went to see the first president, in order to prevail on him to persuade the court to pass the edicts; but in this he found him inflexible: and as the president represented to him the injustice of it, M. de Sully answered, The king ought not to look upon that as unjust which suits his affairs.—On Tuesday the 15th of September, the king sent his letters patent to the court, to prolong the parliament for eight days, during which time they were ordered to set about the registering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of themselves."

perceptibly

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THE interest of commerce was still more concerned in the news the king received from several parts of the kingdom, that those who had been employed to seek for mines, had discovered a great number of * gold and silver ones. This report was spread at court with so many appearances of probability, that every one representing to himself the direction of this new labour as a source of immense riches, there was not one who did not use his utmost endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monsieur Le Grand obtained the office of superintendent, and Béringhen that of comptroller-general. This gave occasion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon whose jests were equally satirical and agreeable, to say, "that they could not have made a fitter choice of a man for the direction of the mines, than one who was himself a composition of *mines* †." The improvement and working of silk, of which I shall have more occasion to speak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was published for the planting of mulberry trees.

AMONG all these different edicts, none made so much noise as that against duels ‡. His majesty went so far as to make death the punishment of those who disobeyed; in which, I confess, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious

* Le Septennaire mentions the places where these mines of all sorts were discovered: "In the Pyrennees mines of tale and copper, together with some of gold and silver; in the mountains of Foix, mines of jet and precious stones, and even carbuncles, tho' but few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines of lead and tin; in those of Carcassonne, mines of silver; in those of Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyons near the village Saint-Martin, of gold and silver; in Normandy, silver and very good tin; at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and Picardy, mines of marcasite of gold and silver. Some of these mines, but especially those of gold and silver, are very difficult and troublesome to work, and at the same time of so little

"profit, that M. De Thou had reason for disuading them from meddling with them ever since that time." liv. cxxix.

† The jest lies in the word *mines*, which in French signifies grimace and affectation.

‡ This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treason or *leze majesté*, was passed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very severe one: this is the edict which first gave the constables and marshals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament restricted, in the registering, to those rencontres alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes as debts, assaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the course of these Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

cious and savage abuse, to fear the accusation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foresaw, that an excess of severity in the means would be the principal obstacle to the execution. When it becomes necessary to declare the will of the sovereign to the subject, it is of the utmost importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of such a nature that the fear of death may prevent disobedience; for otherwise those extremities are, in my opinion, less efficacious than degradation or disgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be seriously attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly persons of quality, and even of the greatest distinction, who are guilty of it; for whom solicitations are so much the more ardent and successful, as the punishment with which they are threatened is great and infamous: it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are sufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that those punishments are most regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored.

BESIDES those embassies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a solemn deputation from the thirteen Swiss Cantons: forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance*, which had been the occasion of marechal Biron's journey to those Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns to which their usual pension was raised: I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their account, during the campaign in Savoy, and on some other occasions: as for the rest, these gentlemen thought good cheer, and deep drinking with them, the most essential parts of their reception. The king presented them with gold chains and medals, and sent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holiness, loaded with presents: he gave his consent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were observed on this occasion, in le Sep-

tennaire, ann. 1602. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

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THE great armaments and other warlike preparations which this crown was making for the following year, kept the crown of France in continual attention to their motions, and were the cause that Henry, who held it for an incontestable truth, that it was by the military power alone a state could be rendered flourishing, not only rejected the proposal I made him, to disband part of his troops, particularly to lessen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but also that he took a resolution to make a new levy of six thousand Swiss; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more solicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the constable for having solicited with great earnestness the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at last he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the most considerable of all his majesty made this year, except that into the provinces.

HENRY took his route through Verneuil * towards the latter end of the month of August, leaving his queen in the same condition she was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for she lay in of Madame, her eldest daughter, in November †. He recommended to me with great earnestness to be assiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of this journey; as likewise to procure her every kind of diversion that might alleviate her concern during the first days of his absence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the state of her health, and the manner in which she passed her time: and it may be truly said, that he never omitted giving her every instance of respect and tenderness that was able to make her forget the uneasiness she received from his amours. It was about this time that he legitimated the son he had by the marchioness de Verneuil ‡, which was among the number of those things that gave the greatest offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occasioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to see his masons work; the remedy he made use of was, to go to the chace the next day. As soon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in such a situation

* Verneuil near Senlis, a castle which he had given to his mistress, mademoiselle d'Entragues, and from which she took the title of marchioness of Verneuil.

† Elizabeth, a daughter of France, was

born on the 22d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

‡ Henry de Bourbon, duke de Verneuil: he was at first bishop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Segulier.


as he wished, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the president Jeannin, whom he expected to have occasion for.

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It was from this place that his majesty was a witness of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemings, without having any inclination to disarm, whatever assurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had seen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they still continued to be on the same footing as before. The siege of Ostend was not carried on with so much vigour by the besiegers, as it was sustained by the besieged. Prince Maurice of Nassau, after continuing some time at Berg, uncertain of what he should next undertake, went on the 19th of September to invest Grave, and entrenched himself, not doubting but he should receive some opposition in this enterprize. Accordingly, the admiral of Arragon, in the absence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by sickness at Brussels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the besiegers, and to succour the place; but he did not succeed: and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spanish companies mutinied, and, after separating from the main body of his army, possessed themselves of Hoestrate and Dele. He took such wrong methods to engage them to return, that they came to a resolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which these Spaniards restored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to accept of very strange conditions from them *.

THE council of Spain, through a desire of carrying on the war, resolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A squadron of twelve large gallies and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a sufficient number of soldiers, and plentifully supplied with all necessary provisions, sailed for this purpose out of the Spanish ports, to cruise in the channel: the command of this squadron was given to Frederic Spinola, cousin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the siege of Ostend; he flattered himself that he should become master of the sea, and complete the ruin of the Flemings. But this proved

* See in the historians the particulars of all these expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

1602.  a vain hope; of twelve vessels, two of them perished ere he had quitted the coasts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch squadron, were almost all either taken or sunk; the last that escaped, and in which Spinola himself was, happened to run a-ground within view of Calais, but so disabled by the cannon, and in such a shattered condition, that the slaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himself obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Brussels, to complain to the archduke of the sea and the winds.

SPAIN made herself amends for these misfortunes by the acquisition of the marquise of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes.* There was not the least shadow of a pretence for this usurpation; this little state, which is on the coast of Genoa, being incontestably a fief of the empire; nevertheless, when the Emperor, to preserve, in appearance at least, the right of the empire, offered to send commissioners to discuss this affair upon the spot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain*. He used the same violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewise of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewise the same views upon Embden, when he undertook to support against the inhabitants † the lord of this city, although he was avowedly a protestant; but in this he did not succeed: the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty against both the one and the other, and joined themselves to the states.

THE duke of Savoy succeeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Genoa. This expedition ended unfortunately for the assailants, although they had opened themselves a passage into the city, by applying soldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which served them to get clear of the patrol till they had found their way through the first guard; and now they thought themselves secure of the city: but the citizens, deriving new strength and courage from the extremity they beheld themselves in, charged them with so much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of these Savoyards threw themselves off the walls, to escape the

* The marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a pension during his life.

† He was called count d'Ost Frise. See the origin of these troubles in Chron. Sept.

an. 1598. and their conclusion, an. 1602.

‡ Charles de Simiane d'Albigny. De Thou, liv. 129. Septen. an. 1602. Matthieu, *ibid.* 544.

rage of the enemies; many others were taken and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black design, which was followed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Genoa*.

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THE revolt of Battori from the Emperor continued the war in Hungary: the duke of Nevers † went thither, in expectation of suc-

* The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. Siri, *ibid.* p. 200.

† Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhetel, who died in 1637. See how la Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking by his own example to recal the courage of those who withdrew from danger, and to induce others to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, the wounded, and even those that were flying; but he received there the shot of a large arquebuse that was fired amidst a great number of other arms, from one of the angles of the said breach, that struck him just on the left side, penetrating into the breast, near the heart and lungs; but it was conducted so providentially, that, neither breaking or hurting any noble part, it gained him as much lasting honour, as it shewed a great miracle in his preservation." Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the duke of Mercœur: "Having an inclination, says he, to return to France, in order to prepare for some greater expedition against the Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave of the Emperor: but while he was at Noremberg he was seized with a pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought him, than the moment he saw it, though in a languishing and weak state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *having more faith than life* (the device of the duke of Mercœur being, *plus fidei quam viæ*) he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate upon the ground, adored

"his Saviour, uttering the most devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and serves sufficiently to form a high eulogium of his character: "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, by monsieur François de Selles, coadjutor and bishop elect of Geneva. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the Christians did not prosper but where-ever this prince was." After the eulogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the most temperate men in the world as to diet, so as only to eat when obliged through necessity, and he drank almost nothing but water: he was no less abstemious in other temporal enjoyments; humble in the possession of all those high honours and great favours heaven had heaped upon him, and never abusing any of them; he was equally accessible to rich and poor; moderate in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle assemblies: so that what time remained for amusement he employed in reading useful books. He had an exact skill in practical mathematics; he also was eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his elegant sentiments not only in French, but likewise in the German, Italian, and Spanish tongues, in which he was more than moderately skilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but to enforce things that were useful, praise-worthy, and virtuous." The description which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion and those of his station, his piety, his prudence, and his other

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ceeding to the post and reputation of the duke of Mercœur, but laying siege to Buda after Pest had been taken by the Christians, the Turks, who on their side had, at length, won Alba regalis, hastened thither with such numerous forces, that they forced them to raise the siege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Basse, the imperial general, has been very much and very deservedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having seized Bistrith, Basse retook this place by a capitulation, which during his absence was violated by some German soldiers. As soon as he was apprised of it at his return, he hanged up all those soldiers, and out of his own money satisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were so greatly affected with the generosity of this action, that they all submitted to the Emperor, and demanded no other security than the general's word.

virtues, form altogether a picture which may serve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and mistaken zeal for religion

made him undertake a conspiracy against his sovereign. Matthieu, *ibid.* 456. speaks of him in the same manner.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIV.

THE city of Metz had been, for some time, shaken with those intestine divisions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epemon, who was governor of it, and of the whole country of Meffin, had placed Sobole* and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made such an ill use of their authority, that they were soon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was strengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was such a general outcry amongst the citizens and country people, against the lieutenants, that d'Epemon was obliged to go himself to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refused to furnish the troops with victual, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some disputes had also risen concerning a certain Provençal prisoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and a desire of revenge, occasioned several others on matters less considerable; and these heats had already proceeded so far as to make a revolt be apprehended. 1603.

* Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gascony.

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THE duke of Epèrnon was soon convinced that the two Soboles * had not justice on their side, at least, with regard to the first complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occasion of a quarrel, with no other view, than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and this to make themselves masters of them. D'Epèrnon would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have some difficulty to support himself in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

THINGS were in this state, when the king received advice of what was doing at Metz: he sent me notice that he would come to the arsenal to confer with me, and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him, and six other persons whom he should bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great store-houses of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as usual, to discourse about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry, without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from the duke of Epèrnon a citadel, which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor; and, upon a supposition that he should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having, in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance, than he could expect from d'Epèrnon. It was probable at least that some favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorraine to France, and in that case, it imported his majesty highly to go himself in person, and procure a perfect knowledge of this state, and give the

* Sobole accused the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to surrender itself to the king of Spain. This accusation appeared to be false. *Vie du duc d'Epèrnon*, p. 217.

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government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewise would be of use to him, in allowing him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the princes of Germany, and of founding their inclinations with respect to the house of Austria, to know if he might expect any assistance from them in an advantageous conjuncture, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us, that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions, not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the coats of his guards, for about this time they were to be all new clothed, were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his secretaries of state to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Epernai, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont: the court stopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Frefne-en-Verdunois.

HENRY's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience: not but Sobole, who was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the most prudent amongst them represented to him, that, if he engaged in such a design, he would be irretrievably ruined; so that, submitting to the arrest for his banishment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny* to be his lieutenant in this province, in the

* Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was chief steward of the household to Henry III. governor of Berry, Bois, &c. knight of the order of the Holy-Ghost, camp-master-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messin, Toul, and Verdun, at last, marshal of France, and died

in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miscalled by some, John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marshal de Montigny.

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room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epernon was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that every thing seemed to be done with his consent.

I HAVE taken this whole detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all these incidents, and dwelt still longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which he said was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth any thing; he likewise told me, that he wished for my presence in that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that, before six days, he should settle every thing in such good order, as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition, which obliged him to take some medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occasioned by a cold. The duchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the sixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty staid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiselle de Rohan, and the young duke de * Deux-Ponts; in composing a difference between the cardinal of Lorraine, and the prince of Brandenburg †, concerning the bishopric of Strasbourg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishopric equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquillity to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderſcheidt, the catholic bishop of Strasbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorraine obtained this bi-

shopric of the pope; and the protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenburg, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. See the historians, Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

Henry became so revered in this country, that several sovereigns of Germany took a resolution to come thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors, the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandebourg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest the Rhine, that came thither in person.

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THE Jesuits, who ever since their banishment had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun *, supported by La-Varenne, who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of Madame, the king's sister, is one proof of it, and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannini, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that pursued by the council.

D'OSSAT, by printing his letters, which † prove the truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not to be solicitous about concealing

* The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial, Châteiller, Broffard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wednesday in Passion week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admission into France. Henry IV. would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and

kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recall them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me, added he, for I think you useful to the public, and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronol. Sept. anno 1603. MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

† To support these accusations brought

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his true sentiments from the public; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have suggested to him, he deserves still greater reproaches for having endea-

against cardinal d'Osât, the author quotes fourteen letters, taken out of the collection printed in 1627, eight of them to the king, and six to M. de Villeroi; and he principally fixes on two of the six last mentioned, of which he has even given an abstract. There are some errors in these quotations, which may be placed to the printer's account; but truth compels us to acknowledge, that there are others of more moment than mere faults of the impression, which may be laid to the charge of the pretended author of the memorial from Rome; and that though the abstract of these letters be conformable to the words of the text, yet it may be said to be not more exact on that account, since one cannot help taking notice of the visible attempt to suppress those explanations and expedients which soften, and even sometimes totally destroy the bad constructions which it has been endeavoured to put on them. I apprehend it will be necessary here to make some short observations on each of those letters, as well to stand in the place of a disquisition, more satirical than historical, which I thought it incumbent on me to suppress, as to do justice where it is due, and to make known the real sentiments of a man, esteemed amongst us as a great negotiator, and a very able politician.

The first of the eight letters to the king (though the author reckons only seven of them) is dated the 19th of February, 1600. It only contains an account given by the cardinal d'Osât to his majesty, of some complaints made by the pope, by reason of the king's having created M. de la Tremouille, who was a protestant, a duke and a peer of France, and of his intending to make him admiral afterwards, as he had been informed. D'Osât does not, in this letter, say any thing as being his own sentiment, and even takes some pains to justify Henry IV. In the second letter of the 25th of April, it is again the pope who in-

sists on the publication of the council of Trent, and the re-admission of the Jesuits into France, and who, at the same time, complains of some abuses in the Gallican church; to which the cardinal makes no other answer, but that his majesty sincerely labours to give his holiness all possible satisfaction. The third of the 22d of May, the fourth of the 17th of June, and the fifth of the 30th of the same month, turn on the affair of the dispensation for the duke and duchess of Bar: he therein acquaints the king with the difficulties that affair meets with at Rome; he adds his own opinion, which, in truth, is not in favour of his majesty's intentions, but nevertheless does not prevent his being ready to second them, by all the reasons he can think of, and his shewing himself, above all things, exceeding sensible of the shame that would redound to the house of France, if, as the duke of Bar sometimes gave out, it should be determined by the court of Lorraine to send the princess back to France. The sixth letter of the 26th of November 1601, contains nothing for which this prelate can be blamed, but his discovering, perhaps with too much complaisance, to Henry IV. the design his holiness had formed, on the death of queen Elizabeth, to transfer the crown of England to the house of Parma. In the seventh of the 22d of December in the same year, d'Osât also, possibly with too much zeal, sustains certain rights of the pope, in the matter of elections. His sentiments, which must appear to be singular in France, oblige me to set forth some of the terms he employs. "If the popes, says he, have encroached
"on the liberties of the church, the kings,
"fire, (I say this only to yourself, and
"even in doing so, shew the great opinion
"I have of your generosity and goodness)
"have made no less attempts on their
"kingdoms, and even their churches; and
"if things should be reduced to their ori-

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voured, both in his discourse and in his writings, to give a bad impression of the king and his ministers. When removed from the center of business, all the informations he could obtain must be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of sense and judgment ought to

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“ ginal state, as is attempted to be done on
 “ your side in the pope’s case, in regard to
 “ the elections, the kings would be greater
 “ sufferers by it than the popes.”

The first of the six letters, directed to M. de Villerai, is dated the 23d of July 1621. Our author’s exceptions to this letter are, because d’Ossat therein maintains, with some warmth, that the protestants ought not to be suffered in the Italian cities, ceded to the king by the treaty of Savoy. The second of the 23d of September, is misdated. If the author meant to speak of that of the 3d of September, he is so much the more in the wrong, because the Spaniards are handled very roughly in that letter: but he probably speaks of that of the 17th of that month, for there the pretended reformed religion, and the cities of Savoy, are again brought in question. The third of the 16th of December 1602, on the affairs of the duchess of Bar, contains this circumstance in favour of d’Ossat, that he therein declares the suspicion he had conceived, that the duke of Lorraine might have some evil intentions against her. The same thing may be said of the fourth of the 30th of December, in which his eminence seems persuaded, that Spain appears to enter so strongly with the pope, into the affair of the succession to the crown of England, for no other reason than to cover her own designs with the cloak of religion. As to the fifth of the 7th, or rather the 27th of January 1603, which is one of the two the author applies himself to censure particularly, because it points out, though but in general terms, the abuses in the government of France; he is doubly to blame for concealing that D’Ossat adds, at the same time, that the wisdom of Henry IV. had already redressed them in part; since those words contain the real meaning, and an explanation of the cardinal’s sentiments, and, at the same time, a commendation which might be made to rebound from thence on

M. de Rosny: The sixth of the 10th of February, is produced as being the most vehement; and, in truth, in this letter he expresses himself with more freedom, on the evils with which the kingdom is internally afflicted, on the injustice of the war carried on against Spain in Flanders, and on the advantage of uniting the two kingdoms of France and Spain in interest and politics, by the marriage of the dauphin and infantina; yet, when all these circumstances are drawn together, and placed in the most unfavourable point of light, as the author has done, he should, in justice, have remarked that d’Ossat, in this letter, candidly states every side of the question; that he says, he is convinced the Spaniards discover a desire for an alliance with us, only to gain time to do their own business, and to amuse the king with a treaty, to surprise him the better afterwards; that he inveighs, perhaps with equal force, against the rapaciousness, ambition, arrogance, and perfidy of the council of Madrid. Certainly, it is not the proper time to shew this prelate’s opinion, whilst he is thus balancing the reasons on each side; but when he recapitulates what he has been saying in this letter, which is very long, he at last speaks in his own name: and this is the manner in which he delivers his sentiments. “ Upon
 “ the whole, I apprehend that his holiness ought to be undeceived, in the
 “ wrong notions he has formed of us; that
 “ we ought, sincerely and faithfully, to
 “ observe the peace made and sworn with
 “ the king of Spain and the archdukes on
 “ our side, provided they also keep it on
 “ theirs, as they have by the pope offered
 “ to do; that this peace should still be
 “ strengthened by all sorts of honourable
 “ and advantageous obligations; yet that
 “ we should not place more confidence in
 “ it than reason warrants, nor abate our
 “ vigilance and precaution; but that we
 “ should, in all other respects, leave the

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be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this passage tends partly to justify myself against the censures of d'Ossat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Villeroi, in which he did not scruple to attribute marechal Biron's rebellion, and the discontent of the other French lords, to the very little satisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppression the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counsellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himself upon his nice discernment in affairs of state, presumed, by desiring Villeroi to shew his letter to the king, to advise his majesty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Possibly if this proceeding of d'Ossat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than mistake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the states in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a

“king of Spain and the archdukes on the
“footing they now stand with other na-
“tions, not from any evil design or inten-
“tion against them, but for our own pre-
“servation; that we should not furnish an
“opportunity to those who have shewn
“an inclination to turn all their forces
“against France; and that whilst the rest
“are at war with one another, we should
“employ the peace and quiet God has
“blessed us with, in doing what is right,
“improving what is good in the kingdom,
“and extirpating what is bad.”

This disquisition confirms me in the opinion I have given above, of the sentiments of the cardinal d'Ossat: for what he says of the Spaniards, besides the letters already quoted, see p. 51, 504, 540, 692, 705, &c. on the publication of the council of Trent, 217, 256, 354, 396, 400, 433, 466, 613, 615, and many other places; on the Jesuits, 69, 302, 303, 287, 309, 351, & seq. 613, & seq.

Had the cardinal d'Ossat even meant

what his adversary pretends he did, it could not be at all consistent with the character of so prudent and cautious a negotiator, as he is allowed to have been, to make an open discovery of such blameable sentiments: his prudence appears from his letters amongst other occasions, where, unquestionably against his own advice, he defends the edict of Nantz before the pope, p. 391, 393, 400, where he approves of the imprisonment of marechal de Biron, 705, and where he takes the part of queen Elizabeth, 243.

In short, nothing can be a stronger proof that this cardinal had no personal dislike to M. de Rosny, as it has been insinuated, than his having never once mentioned his name with ill nature. He is spoken of, p. 440, 377, 723: this last is the only place where he complains of him, though with all possible moderation, on account of his having suspended the payment of his allowance.

very

very considerable gratification from him; and lastly, that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had, by his majesty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

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I WAS not unacquainted with any of d'Ossat's malicious proceedings, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome, among others d'Ossat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my enemies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons that possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at that court. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better an answer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an incontestible proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me: that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expediate no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and, in the postscript of my letter, gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of d'Ossat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my just indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent; which, if what I had heard of him was true, he deserved; if false, I gave Villeroi to understand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of d'Ossat. He was still more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified: I consented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Ossat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual: those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I SHALL

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I SHALL resume this article in a proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce d'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me from Rome against him. At present, what remains to be said of him regards the coadjutorship of Baieux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader, that d'Ossat procured himself to be made coadjutor of Baieux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons, that they should lose nothing by it, since they obtained an equivalent upon the bishopric of Evreux. Villeroi earnestly solicited his majesty for d'Ossat, and endeavoured to engage my interest for his friend; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him.

THE pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's absence, upon the journey his majesty had undertaken. That his holiness interested himself in it, was occasioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themselves of the occasion of this voyage, that which was conceived of his majesty's armaments and treasures, which common fame had greatly increased, and infected even the holy father with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to reassure him, without troubling myself to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

HIS majesty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongst others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend; nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Boisleduc, not considering that this enterprise exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Boisleduc with so small a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the

satisfaction

satisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the castle of Vaſtendonck, where they were, in a manner, already maſters. The gariſon of this place, too weak to reſiſt them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the caſtle to their diſcretion, when they were joined by ſome Dutch troops, who paſſed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and diſlodged them from the caſtle.

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IT may be eaſily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was abſolutely neceſſary that France ſhould continue to contribute. The ſiege of Oſtend alone had coſt them one hundred thouſand vollies of cannon, and ſeven thouſand men. His majeſty, for the intereſt of both the powers, kept Buzenval in thoſe provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the ſtates agent to the king was a man named Aërfens *; this agent repreſented to me, that his countrymen would be ſoon in no condition to keep the field, unleſs his majeſty would permit them to recruit the French companies that were in their ſervice with Frenchmen. The king ſent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this requeſt, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he conſented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon theſe conditions, that it ſhould be Aërfens himſelf that ſhould raiſe the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in ſuch a manner, as to draw upon him ſome reproaches from the king of Spain: that the recruits ſhould be raiſed with the utmoſt expedition and the utmoſt ſecreſy; and that the ſoldiers who liſted, the number of which he deſired to know, ſhould file off, without any noiſe, to the place where they were to embark, marching fix in a company at moſt, with no other arms than their ſwords, and no more money than was neceſſary to answer their expences till they got there; that they ſhould take ſhipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this laſt city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice ſhould be ſent to Chaſtes,

Paul Choart
de Buzenval.

* Francis Aërfens, reſident, and afterwards ambaffador from the ſtates of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time repreſent him as a man of a ſubtil, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal de Richelieu ſpeaks of him, Oxenſtiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiſcardi, chancellor of Montferrat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Eu-

rope. “ It was the received opinion of that
“ time, ſays Amelot de la Houſſaye, that
“ Henry IV. had an amour with Aërfens’
“ wife, and that the huſband was content
“ with it, by reaſon of the profit he reaped
“ from it: this amour laid the foundation
“ of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres
“ a year to his ſon, who was called Van
“ Sommerdyk.

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who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vic, whose concurrence was necessary to the design, and for whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders, and, for fear that they should enlist with the arch-duke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As for the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

History of
Henry duke
of Bouillon,
book v.

DURING the stay his majesty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet: he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electress: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his justification to Henry, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majesty sent me immediately to have my opinion of it. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unseasonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to represent to him the great affliction it gave the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity suspected by the king, and to assure him, that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs that he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La Tremouille that he should at least stop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine therefore, to excuse the duke, alledged, that with regard to the first complaint, the quality of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentleman who brought his majesty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and expect his majesty at Sedan; but that thinking it necessary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorraine, and also to pay his respects to the elector and electress, his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiving his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which, the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

HENRY answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always, to restore the duke of Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man, named Du-Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Chatillon, had been sent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with dispatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned, that this courier, who was to set out from Longjumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to pass through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the answer to Tremouille's dispatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majesty would not have entered into so circumstantial an account of this affair, but that he wished (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arrest this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he should have received letters in that city, which would fully discover the nature of his commission.

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HIS majesty had certainly no occasion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too rashly, that the submission which appeared in that step he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only dissembled, with a view to two things; to inspire the king with a security in regard to his person, and to continue to draw from him those sums which for a long time he had regularly received for the support of his fortresses. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly displeased. His majesty recommended it earnestly to me, to have no regard to the instances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the same time to give him no reason to suspect that I had any knowledge of what he had just related to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontents which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongst the protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the Arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

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To proceed, after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at last to set him at peace, by shewing him, that however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual struggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet these aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private one's ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say farther, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment: allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible, only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty places, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

THE king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of queen Elizabeth, which was sent to him by the count de Beaumont *, our ambassador at London: his majesty, thereupon, resolved to hasten his departure from that city. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused a magnificent ballad or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death † of this

* Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

† Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report, and the common opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-re-

proach for being the cause of the earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shewn the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and some others say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say, that, like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her

great

great queen, which he heard soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and to Henry in particular, who could not hope, in the successor of Elizabeth, to find the same favourable disposition to all his designs as he had in this princess, "the irreconcilable enemy of his irreconcilable enemies, and a second self:" such were the terms which Henry made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

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HIS majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political affairs of Europe, determined, as I have already said, to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose; I repeat his words, and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which he said I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germain-en-laye, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, completed a tour of two months.

I HAD received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him ex-

cruelty in putting her first cousin, queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign: nevertheless, I acquiesce in the eulogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spake Latin, Greek, French,

Italian, and Spanish; she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, *Preface*, *Journal de Hen. IV. La Septennaire*, an. 1603. *Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi*, tom. III. p. 209; and other French historians,

1603. tremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Monglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his buildings * at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arsenal, and for other works, of which I had the inspection and conduct, and which had been partly the subjects of those letters I had received from him; therein he had also directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called la Sale des Antiques.

AFTER I had, in a concise but satisfactory manner, replied to all these articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered some of his guards to be placed. The embassy to England was the sole subject of our conversation. His majesty had at first imparted to his court his resolution to send this embassy, but without naming the person whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited some murmurs among the partisans of the Pope and Spain; and it was said, that Henry sought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majesty, notwithstanding, declared publicly his intention to invest me with this employment, their disgust then shewed itself without restraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reason to think was made up of my most inveterate enemies, boldly represented to his majesty, that to send a huguenot to treat concerning the interest of the kingdom, with a prince of the same religion, would be highly dangerous to the state; and more especially so, were he intrusted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majesty to revoke my nomination, they contented themselves with getting my commission confined only to condolences upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at most, to an inspection into the state of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer, on the principal occasion of my journey.

HENRY, at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to

* Henry IV. built the new castle of the banks of the Seine, and formed its Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to beautiful terraces.

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me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view : and he further confirmed this his resolution, by judiciously observing, that an embassy, whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony, would be useless and vain ; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new king of England pursue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would doubtless depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its ancient partisans : but he confessed to me, that this point appeared to him, in all respects, so extremely difficult, that, unless it was managed with the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile, which he often used of La Riviere's, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtle poisons, and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the best advantage of both, by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said, I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and perhaps to a necessity of revenging them : and as to the more secret propositions, which, at a proper opportunity, I should make to king James, he said it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid hastening, by any imprudent step, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or at least far from being concluded. His majesty supposed, that all causes of dissatisfaction might, as much as it was possible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, such instructions, in regard to my embassy, as should appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, should not prevent my seconding his majesty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might present ; provided, nevertheless, that I did it as of myself, and with-

out

1603. out giving this prince to understand, that I was authoris'd herein by the king my master.

WHAT his majesty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of such great consequence, that I desired him to grant me four days to consider of it, before I gave him my answer. I immediately set out post for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for July. I easily persuaded myself to comply with the king's desires, but I thought it a necessary precaution to have his majesty's more immediate avowal and authority for all these propositions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myself, without which I thought it would be risking too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the best claim; but I was sensible, that, by this, I should be obliged to break through those bounds of circumspection, which, in France, I had prescribed to myself, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reason to doubt but that, whatever words might escape me, which, in this respect, should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive, that something of this kind should be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill humour; and sometimes one of these moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

ALL these considerations confirmed me in a resolution, not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty, and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the king of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and shew that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arsenal to receive my answer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying, that I was full of fears lest any part of my conduct, on this occasion, should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

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WE were at this instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his ministers, so zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them assurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propositions which I was to make this prince were also enumerated, which I shall here omit, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand design: I was also directed to desire the king of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further (supposing king James approved them) I should feign to defer communicating to the king my master what might be agreed between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably received by the northern crowns, and the states-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majesty.

SUCH was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the king, on his side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, we had neither of us hereby done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the king of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the best of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did scarce permit us even to think of this.

IN regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow: but they were countermanded on ac-

1603. count of a violent disorder, which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May *: this was so strong a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dispatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message. “ My friend, I find myself
 “ so ill, that it seems highly probable God will soon dispose of me ;
 “ and it being my duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the
 “ necessary dispositions to secure the succession to my children, that
 “ their reign may be prosperous, and may promote the happiness of
 “ my wife, my kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my dear
 “ people, whom I love equally with my own children, I desire to
 “ confer with you on all these matters : come to me therefore with
 “ all diligence, and say nothing of it to any one ; make an appearance
 “ only of going to the conventicle at Ablon ; and having privately
 “ ordered post-horses to be there in readiness, proceed immediately
 “ to this place.”

THE perusal of this most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed ; the queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers ; he held out the other to me, and said, “ My good
 “ friend, come and embrace me, I am extremely glad you are come ;
 “ is it not strange that, two hours after I wrote to you, my excessive
 “ pains should begin to abate ? I hope, by degrees, they will entirely
 “ leave me, for I have made water three times, the last most profusely,
 “ and with but little pain.” Then turning to the queen, “ This,
 “ said he, of all my servants, is he who best understands, and is most
 “ careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had I been taken
 “ from you, would have been best able to serve both you and my

* The king, says the *marechal de Bassompierre*, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the *Journal de L'Etoile*) the result of their con-

sultations were in these terms : *Abstineat à quavis muliere, etiam regina ; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsos vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

“ children :

" children : I know, indeed, that his temper is somewhat austere,
 " that he is often rather too plain for such a spirit as yours, and that,
 " on this account, many have endeavoured to prejudice you and my
 " children against him, that he might be removed from you ; but, if
 " ever this event should happen, and you should employ such and
 " such persons (naming them softly in her ear) and, instead of follow-
 " ing the good counsels of this man, should be wholly guided by their
 " opinions, depend upon it, it will prove destructive to the state, and
 " may, perhaps, ruin my children and yourself. I have sent thus
 " suddenly for him, that, with him and you, I might consult upon
 " the means to prevent these evils, but I thank God my precautions
 " will probably not yet be necessary."

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COURIERS upon couriers were the next day dispatched, to dissipate
 the disagreeable rumours which were already spread in all places. I
 did not myself return to Paris, till I had seen the king make water :
 he would have it so, and he did it twice with such facility, that I was
 perfectly satisfied all danger was over. Three days after, I received a
 letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been blooded
 in the left arm by La Riviere the evening I left him, he had been
 greatly relieved, and, having rested well the whole night, found him-
 self grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the in-
 terest I seemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this
 occasion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in
 hunting ; and he promised to observe what I had said. He was al-
 ready able to be as circumstantial as usual in those details with
 which his letters were commonly filled : he directed me in this, to
 send two hundred crowns to each of the persons afflicted with the
 evil, whom his own disorder had prevented him from touching, and
 whom nevertheless he would not send back. Herein also, he thanked
 me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I
 had sent him. His majesty's physicians were unanimous, on this occa-
 sion, in making him the same representations which I had done, in
 regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exer-
 cise in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himself con-
 siderably better for it : he also received great benefit from the waters of
 Pougues, which he drank this year for some time, during which the
 young princess his daughter was taken so ill, that her life was despaired
 of ; both the king and the dauphin his son went frequently to see her.

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TOGETHER with this letter from his majesty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majesty had sent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; also that I was expected by his Britannic majesty, who attributed my delay to the king's indisposition, and to the baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the accession of James the VIth * to the crown of England. The baron Du-Tour was, for this purpose, sent by James to his most christian majesty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himself of his commission. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure for England, for these reasons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would soon send for me and inform me of the day: but his majesty changed his intention in this respect, and came himself to Paris. The heat which had begun early this year was excessive, and rendered the sands of Fontainebleau insupportable to one but just recovering from sickness.

Two days after his majesty's arrival at Paris, he assembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maise, and Sillery, on the subject of my departure, and that I might receive my public instructions in their presence. When I entered the king's closet, where this council was

* Henry Stuart, baron of Darnly, duke of Rothesay, &c. espoused Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; she having after his death retired into Scotland. He was strangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at first king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his son, and died in 1625. On his accession to the crown of England, the marquis of Rosny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, at that time his ambassador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully.

land, joined to the desire I have to do you service, have induced me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have just received from the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed of the decease of the queen of England, of the accession, reception, and acknowledgment of the king of Scotland to that crown, and that all things there are in a state of peace and tranquillity; for which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the desire of every good man.

SIR,

Your most humble cousin
and servant,

Signed, ROSNY:
held,

To the Scots ambassador.

SIR,

"The interest you have in the prosperity of the affairs of the king of Scot-

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held, I told his majesty that the count of Soissons was in the chamber without, and that it appeared to me necessary that he likewise should be introduced to be a witness of my deputation. Henry replied, that he did not know the count was there; and that, from what I had just said, he would take occasion to reconcile us to each other; for the count of Soissons' resentment still subsisted. Accordingly, the count meeting me two days after, as I entered the palace, told me, that he had learned from a good hand that I had rendered him an office which he had no reason to expect from me; he thanked me for it, assured me that he would forget the past, and for the future would be my friend: but he did not long continue in these sentiments.

THE principal object of these instructions had always been a close alliance between France and England against Spain, notwithstanding all that had been done to prevent it by the partisans of that crown in France. The principal difference between these, and the secret instructions which I had received from his majesty, was, that in the former he had concealed the true motives to this alliance: I will not transcribe them here, as the particulars would be too long and circumstantial. The substance of them was briefly as follows: To take every opportunity of discoursing upon, and informing the king of England, of all the unjust and violent proceedings of Spain, thereby to inspire him with an aversion to that crown: to represent the various arts employed by her to embroil Europe; her new usurpations in Italy; her secret practices in England, by means of the Jesuits; her intrigues in Ireland and Scotland, under the sanction of the authority which the Pope pretends to have over those kingdoms; her designs upon Strasbourg, by forcing the cardinal of Lorrain to consent to the Pope's giving the coadjutorship of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain universal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

IN consequence of these representations, the king of England must either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or secret war against that crown: in the first case, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get possession of the Low Countries: after which, she would not fail to turn her arms either against France or England; and most probably towards the latter, on account of the Pope's long inveteracy to it. I was also to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report industriously spread by Spain, that she had no intention to get possession of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a distinct kingdom, such as that of Bur-

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gundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a last resource, I was to insist, that Spain should at least be made to purchase this peace at a high price, or should be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and especially that she should give up Ostend. In case an open war should be resolved upon, I was to endeavour to discover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if possible prevent it, and represent to him the necessity of beginning by giving a powerful assistance to the States.

FINALLY, if a secret war was resolved upon, in which I was to use my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this case I was to represent to him, that prudence required that he should begin by strengthening himself upon the throne, securing it to his descendants, and by gaining Europe in his interests; whereby Spain might be one day irresistibly attacked: that till this was effected, it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitless employment of her forces against Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which, however, should not be declared till they had begun the execution of their designs. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the succours which were provisionally to be given the States; and prevent the English council from demanding the three hundred thousand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, lest they might thereby be induced to throw themselves into the arms of Spain: on the contrary, I was to persuade his Britannic majesty to be at new expences, equally with his most Christian majesty, in favour of these people, and to assist them with the same number of ships as queen Elizabeth had done; also to obtain permission, that the four hundred and fifty thousand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies should require in Flanders; and that three hundred thousand livres more might be added to them by England, whereby, with the seven hundred and fifty thousand livres which Henry obliged himself to join to them, a fund would be formed of fifteen hundred thousand livres for the present necessities of the States-General. In case I could not gain a compliance with these articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thousand livres discharged, France obliging herself to pay it; also, to manage this affair in such a manner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as securities for these succours; and to sound his intentions in regard to those of which

which he was already possessed in Zealand. In pursuance of this plan, I was to consult with Barnevelt, act in concert with him and the States deputies at London, seem attached to their interests, entertain them with agreeable hopes, persuade them that their interests were the care of the British council, without giving umbrage to this council, and make the best advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

1603.

THESE were the principal points of my instructions: there were some others which did not relate to the same subject, or at least not immediately; such was that in regard to the piracies of the English. I was charged to complain, that since the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a dissolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being disadvantageous to France, which thereby had not the same privileges and immunities in England that the English had in France. The close union between Elizabeth and Henry had caused all things to be equal on both sides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then considered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumspect on this head, and even to entirely suppress it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any risk of raising a suspicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herself had not been exempt, that France only sought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which she would then easily extricate herself. If what the baron Du-Tour had said in France, of his Britannic majesty's resolution to succour Ostend, should appear to be well grounded, I might then spare myself part of these precautions.

THE manner in which I was to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Spain and the arch-dukes; the attention which I was to bestow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the justification of Beaumont, against whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the same privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: these were other articles of my instructions. There was one article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in respect to whom I was to be silent, unless the king of England should speak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this case I was to draw the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may observe, that the subjects of my negotiations were:

1603. were sufficiently extensive, for I was to gain a knowledge of the dispositions of the king and people of England, not only with respect to Spain and Flanders, but also to the Northern crowns: to say the truth, the political state of all Europe was concerned in my ensuing conduct and its consequences.

THESE instructions *, in which, to my other titles, his majesty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in presence of the count of Soissons, Sillery, and Jeannin, signed by his majesty and Villeroi. Henry also gave me six letters, one from his majesty to the king of England, besides another for the same prince for form-sake counter-signed; two others, in the same manner, from the king to the queen of England, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majesty also gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewise secretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he presented me his hand to kiss, then embraced me, wished me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good success.

THE beginning of June I set out for Calais, where I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him scarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself

* The original of these instructions, signed with Henry IV's own hand, is still in being; as also another piece, written by M. de Rosny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M.*

de Villeroi, according to his desire, to assist him in preparing my instructions. This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embassy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

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master of what he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verses; he played upon almost all instruments, was perfect master of music, and sung most agreeably and justly; he likewise could say mass; for he was of a disposition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well suited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dextrous, and fit for all exercises; he could ride well, and in dancing, wrestling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was skilled in almost all mechanic arts. But now for the reverse of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society; the truth of which he himself evinced with his latest breath, for he died in the flower of his age, in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with the glass in his hand, cursing and denying God.

FROM the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majesty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I used only the common character; my general cyphers I used for such matters as were to be known only to the council; and my secret cypher I employed in what I addressed to the king himself, which was to be seen only by him: his majesty chose to have the greatest part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering so great, that he at last entrusted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himself well skilled in it; but the

1603. difficulty which I experienced myself in the use of this cypher, whenever I wanted to descend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my letters; however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negotiations with king James.

I STAYED a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of count d'Aremberg, ambassador from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprises of the English cruizers upon the coast of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I EMBARKED the 15th of June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility: but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of shewing the English his resentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his main-top-gallant-mast, I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I represented: and I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty shot were immediately fired against De-Vic's † ship. It was with great

* Dominic De-Vic, signior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice admiral of France: he died in 1610.

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whose testimony hereupon is of great weight, more especially as they agree in it, both say, that the captain of the English difficulty

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difficulty that I made myself heard; which, however, I at last effected, by representing to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour; and also to give me a more distinguished mark of his respect, by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this; and my English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next discharge at random. I made a signal to De-Vic, which he perfectly well understood, and took in his flag; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them. Though I much question, had

ship in which M. de Rosny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I suspect our Memoirs, either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have somewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above mentioned: "De-Vic, vice-admiral of France, soon after he had cast anchor in Dover-road (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de Rosny) sailed from thence on his return to Calais, and passing by the ship on board of which M. de Rosny then was, he ordered his flag to be hoisted, and gave him a salute; soon after which, the flag was again taken in. The English captain of the ship wherein M. de Rosny was, seeing the French flag hoisted, commanded his men to fire upon the vice-admiral of France, swearing he would suffer no flag to be seen in these seas but that of England. A gun was immediately fired upon De-Vic's ship, who, having demanded the reason of it, prepared to defend himself. M. de Rosny complained of it to the English captain, and represented the firing this shot as an offence done to himself; but he talked to a man who refused to hear reason, and who answered him only with rage and fury; he was therefore forced to submit, and made a sign to the vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic thinking himself injured, demanded satisfaction of the English admiral; who answered him, that the king of England, his master, did not permit what the

"captain had presumed to do, desired that he would excuse his indiscretion, &c. and promised that nothing like it should ever happen again. This reply appeased and quieted all parties." Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Testament Politique, makes use of this as an argument, to demonstrate to Lewis XIII. the absolute necessity there was for a naval power: "The cannon-shot, says he, by piercing the vessel, pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen; and if the words of king James were civil, yet were they of no other effect, than to oblige the duke of Sully to obtain his satisfaction from his own prudence, by feigning to be contented, tho' his discontent, and his reason for it, was really greater, and farther from being removed than ever. The king, your father, was under a necessity to use dissimulation on this occasion, but he did it with the resolution, whenever it might again be necessary, to maintain the just rights of his crown by such a naval force as time would furnish him with the means to acquire." Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may farther observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired king James to grant him, passes it over very slightly; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

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the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened: be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I ARRIVED at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England, which Gondy had in France, being that part of the reception of ambassadors, which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or chariots, and other things of this nature: the mayor of Dover also came and complimented me; and the acclamations of the people were so great, that it was said, that nothing like it had ever before been seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which I had a second example, even before my departure from Dover.

THE governor of this place sent his nephew to me, to desire I would come with him and see the castle, he not being able to wait on me himself, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a second, from which I conceived a good opinion of the person by whom they were sent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might justly have fallen upon myself, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the castle the next day, with all my retinue; but I soon discovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of those who have the curiosity to see the castle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myself, quit their swords. Being introduced to the governor, whose name was Thomas Wymes, he received us seated in his chair, but, perceiving that some of us were looking at the towers and walls of the castle, he put on so sour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid lest our presence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be said or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeness; and this proved to be no unnecessary caution.

WHEN we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer shewed himself that polite and obliging person, who but just

before had demanded a list of those who accompanied me, that, as he said, they might all be furnished with the necessary horses and chariots: and I could not but suppose his sole design, in getting this list, was that he might send it to London; for he suffered all my retinue to provide themselves horses as well as they could, and at their own cost; and these mild people lent them at so high a price, and at the same time with so much arrogance, that they seemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our sentiments of so rude a treatment. My own conveyance I got in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I HAD more reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road, and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and respects, they pretended to have received orders so to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a small city, but extremely populous, and so polite that, in no other place, I received such distinguished honours and civilities as there; some came to kiss my boot, others to kiss my hands, and others to make me presents of flowers; all which must be attributed not to the English of this city (they every where preserve their character of aversion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemings, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at last almost entirely changed it, and, at this day, compose two thirds of its inhabitants. I visited the church, and was present at the service, wherein the music was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons understood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their caresses and civilities: one of them shewed himself so well affected to France, as to give me an information of some consequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërsens to Henry himself. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me as one of my secretaries; and being informed that this was the son of his old friend, he came to see him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the secretary of count Aremberg*, ambassador from the archduke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbançon, count of Aremberg.

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time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

HERE my lord Sidney came and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Arenberg, was my lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some contempt from the king of England; but, afterwards reflecting that the quality of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others by his direction, paid me. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be shewn. Beaumont addressed himself to Sidney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and confidants of James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester, where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged if necessary.

AT Gravesend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I scarce ever saw a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of

which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the house of the count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The confluence of people was so great, that we could scarce open ourselves a passage. 1603.

THIS very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took me aside, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired, having first expressed to me his zeal, that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince: after him my lord Sidney came and made me the same request, by ingeniously telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being deputed to me the first, and the respect and attachment which he had for his most christian majesty, might merit my reserving for him at least some part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I should not disclose myself entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived these gentlemen had a mutual jealousy of each other, and contended who should be the first that should give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to say, the former received only false, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little consequence, and such as I should have been glad to see published.

THEY both made what use of them they thought proper: as to myself, I supped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for so short a time had not been sufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was destined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the finest, and from its great number of apartments upon the same floor, the most commodious in London: but this greatly embarrassed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houses and apartments were sought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refused to receive us, on account of the misbehaviour which they had but lately experienced in some of marechal Biron's

1603. Biron's people; the greatest part therefore had like to have been obliged to pass the night in the street.

It must indeed be confessed, that, if what I heard on this subject was true, Biron, by the excesses which he had suffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they may be of use in correcting our manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached: unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I WAS fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority; and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour: but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almost immediately.

I WAS the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town: at the same place they met with some English, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the English was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis D'Oraison, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt; but, observing them come in at different times by three and four together, and with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and, having questioned

questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

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THE honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negotiation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved, that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the house (which was about a hundred) to range themselves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to discover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty by his agitation and fear: he was for denying it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who, at entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the English and you are at variance, if you are capable of preferring the interest of yourself and your relations, to that of the king and the public: but the service of the king my master, and the safety of so many gentlemen of good families, shall not suffer for such an imprudent stripling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir, cried Beaumont, behead a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred thousand crowns, an only son; it is but an ill recompence for the trouble he has given himself, and the expence he has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone, "I had no occasion for such company;" and to be short, I ordered Beaumont to quit my apartment; for I thought it would be improper to have him present in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce sentence of death upon Combaut.

IN this council, I made choice only of the oldest and the wisest of my retinue, and the affair being presently determined, I sent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to desire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for answer, that his first care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him justice, and that

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that he was just coming to demand it of me, when he received my letter and the sentence: he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either because my severity had disarmed him, or, which seemed most probable, because he had already suffered himself to be corrupted by presents from the friends of the criminal. I sent again to this magistrate to inform him, that as no superior authority, nor respect for any person whatever, had determined me to pronounce this sentence, I could not consent to revoke it; that, by carrying it into execution, I should justify the king my master, and give the English nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occasion which my duty required; therefore in such an affair, I could only acquit myself of it by committing it to him, and by resigning the prisoner to such punishment as justice and the laws of England required. I accordingly sent Combaut to him; so that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who, without much difficulty, obtained this magistrate's consent to set Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me: on the contrary, I perceived both the French and English seemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended so well for Combaut; and the consequence of this to me, with respect to the English and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

THIS removed at least one obstacle to the success of my negotiation; but there still remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular persons, according as their different interests might incline them to traverse it. It is certain, that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate, that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions: it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and disdainful, nor more conceited of its superior excellence: were they to be believed, understanding and common sense are to be found only among them; they are obstinately wedded to all their own opinions, and despise those of every other nation, and to hear others, or suspect themselves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themselves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: sometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the instability of the element by which they are surrounded; with them all things must submit to the reigning dispositions, and the sole difference between them and any the most inconstant people in Europe,

Europe, is, that their inconstancy proceeds not from lightness, but from their vanity, which continually shews itself in a thousand different shapes. Their self-love renders themselves slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing or being able to give a reason; they are accordingly so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them for the same persons, and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surpris'd on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence. 1603.

FROM this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a king of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe *.

FRANCE therefore can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity: but let the sovereign shew himself a lover of peace, disinterested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain to preserve all his neighbours in that dependence

* I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can

only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences, is, that those prejudices and partialities which were the cause of hatred and jealousy, have hereby been dissipated.

1603. which is only durable, because it conciliates the affections, instead of subjecting the persons *.

I DARE farther maintain, that peace is the great and common interest of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preserving it between the greater powers, by all the most gentle and persuasive means; and the greater powers should force the lesser into it, if necessary, by assisting the weak and oppressed; this is the only use they ought to make of their superiority. When I consider Europe as composed of such civilized people, I cannot but be astonished that she still continues to be governed by principles so narrow, and customs so barbarous. What is the consequence of that profound policy of which she is so vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the resource in all places and upon all occasions; she knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the sole resource of the most inconsiderable sovereign, as well as of the greatest potentate; the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with less noise, and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may shew his grandeur, though in reality he only shews himself more signally despicable. Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is had to war only for want of a better expedient: nevertheless, we have so effectually confirmed this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to our English.

THE court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions; and from this circumstance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, secret and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or from the

* It is not surprising to hear such reasoning as this now we have acquired juster notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at so great a degree of glory, that conquests can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion must we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him establishing principles, in appearance so

improper for the states of misery and weakness, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at least from whence it was but just recovered? It is by such true, solid, and wise maxims as these, that the memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able ministers have since drawn inestimable treasures.

lights

lights I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontented, and in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kinlofs, and other gentlemen of the king's bedchamber; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely: some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, because, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two.

THE second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction: in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equiponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the antient kingdom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high treasurer, and Cecil the secretary of state, at least as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest: he had borne the principal sway in the late government, and he endeavoured with the same subtilty to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction, composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with those before mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton,

1603. and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

NOTHING could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretell which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeed better than others in gaining their master; the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known, besides that his accession to such a crown as that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

ALL that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised, but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they would have also separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

KING James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, *Captain of arts, and clerk of arms*. There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the ancient pretences of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent,

and had some erudition; though less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state-affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife *.

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THE character of this princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to shew that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she was still in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent, but she was very little affected by it,

INSTEAD of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having, of her own accord, and against the king's express desire, appointed herself a great chamberlain of her household. She was also attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland, because endeavours had been used to persuade the public, that its death was only feigned. She also brought with her the prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern

* Anne, daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain; she died in 1619.

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absolutely, and whom, it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more happy, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness, and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of those princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition, by having him sent to be educated in Spain.

THUS I have given some account of the state of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the rest of the principal persons who composed it, will more particularly appear in the ensuing part of these Memoirs. Here therefore I will only add, that besides count d'Arenberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Nassau, and the other deputies from the States General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambassador from his Catholic majesty, and the envoys from Sweden * and Denmark, were also hourly expected, and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests, to be of the utmost consequence.

THE first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London were those of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witnesses, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended

* Christiern IV.

to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

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THIS general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person who spoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was, to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper, in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth the pains which had been taken to preserve it; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments; and though he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject, by informing me, that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation, no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king; neither was it his fault, if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to Mr. deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me, that no one, after the king, had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined, that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were,

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were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion; and this did not appear to us an unfavourable circumstance, no more than the observation which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; having before than refused both to see or speak to the prince of Nassau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of *sedition rebels*. These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables, I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I GAVE then a more positive answer to Barnevelt * their principal, when he came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I had taken possession. Barnevelt, like his colleagues, began by magnifying the misery to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the States could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to advance without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these complaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I TOLD Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes, for that Henry was not at all disposed, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a war, in which supposing the king of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say any thing positive to them, till I had at least sounded the dispositions of this prince with regard to them. Barnevelt having been at London for a considerable time, might

* John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince having from the first been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counsellors, and his own passive disposition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but, having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction the Flemings should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having perhaps been made sensible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire; these considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

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THESE informations which I received from Barnevelt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation, or, at best, irresolution; for those of his ministers, whom I had reason to believe were best acquainted with the secrets of his councils, upon every occasion constantly said, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believed the States were too good politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any of the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

BARNEVELT finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confidant of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no

1603. longer hesitated to discover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of so important a secret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had resolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furnish them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in case they found themselves too closely pressed by the English and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunswic and Vandrelep, offering Ostend to be sequestered till the conclusion of the treaty; that during this interval, some event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at least for the present, a stop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain against Ostend.

IN order to understand what is here said of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is necessary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns *, as a security for the money which she had lent them, with this gracious clause in their favour, that they should not give her the possession of them, unless they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her consent. As to the other treaty, it was proposed, in the height of the hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the contested countries under the power of the house of Austria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which possessed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is most probable, both, were the cause of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunswic, and continued by count Vandrelep, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain still preserved, or had regained in Flanders, should be comprehended in the treaty, because, said they, they risked too much by being so near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

IN the afternoon of this day, I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic: he was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barnevelt had been; for his state was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before strongly suspected, of the irresolution of James; he told me,

* Fleissingae and Brille.

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that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the high sounding words *the policy of Europe*, did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with; all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

THESE reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour: but James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Plessis, and himself, and had bore in their opinions so favourable an aspect: this scheme was to make the king of England protector of the calvinist party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blanc. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

THE same day also count d'Aremberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the

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king. All that passed between me and this person consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

THE king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-second, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was also added the present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chase; the reason was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclinations in their majesties was to me a preface of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chase should prevent it; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chase, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute to its success, that he generally sent me to pursue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his British majesty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Arenberg had paid me, and, at the same time, sent him half of my present.

ONE part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue should appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreigner, or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princess,

princes, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided.

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I SHOULD have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity under which I was of appearing in a garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England : but my orders hereupon were positive, not to mention that they were also most laudable ; and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont's representations, who entreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erskine and some others, who were best acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday ; and I still persisted in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront, and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the success of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with those of my lord Sidney, the viscount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it ; and, through fear lest a greater evil should ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Lewkener coming the next morning to inform me that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance ; nevertheless it publicly gained me almost as much honour, as if I had persisted in my intention, because none were ignorant that I had complied only through absolute necessity.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K X V.

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THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and escorted me to the Thames, whose banks they lined whilst I went down to Greenwich. This passage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, selected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace.

I ENTERED into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an established custom in England, never to treat ambassadors, nor even to offer them a glass of water. His majesty having sent to desire my appearance in his presence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occasioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and because I made all my retinue to walk before me. The prince no sooner perceived me than he descended two steps, and would have descended them all, so very desirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his ministers, who stood next him, whispered softly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. " If, said he aloud, I shew this " ambassador particular marks of honour, and such as are contrary to
" custom,

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“ custom, I mean not thereby to give a precedent to others : I particularly love and esteem him for the affection which I know he has “ for me, for his firmness in our religion, and his fidelity to his master.” I dare not repeat all that he said in my favour. I received so obliging a favour with all due respect ; and replied, not by an harangue, such as some may, perhaps, expect to see here, and with which court pedants would be more pleased ; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more suitable to my situation. Henry’s affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the accession of James to the throne of England, the praises of the two kings ; all these I comprised in very few words. I excused myself from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his most Christian majesty’s having himself explained his sentiments in his letters, which I at the same time presented, distinguishing to his Britannic majesty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himself, and then gave them to Cecil ; expressing, at the same time, how sensible he was of their contents, by these words, “ That he had not left in Scotland the “ passion with which he had always loved the king of France, and “ desired the prosperity of his crown.” I continued to compliment his majesty, though in the style of common conversation ; for that of haranguing was extremely disagreeable to me. I said, that Henry had given public demonstrations of his joy, on seeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was so worthy of it, and for his having been so readily and universally acknowledged ; that if there had been occasion for the presence of his most Christian majesty, he would have given proofs of his sincere attachment to his interests, and union with his person, and have come with pleasure to any place where his presence might have been necessary. I did not repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France : “ It being always com- “ mendable, said he, to overcome evil with good.” But that he had had the double satisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendship with France, for another that was not less so. The late queen was mentioned on this occasion, but without one word in her praise.

AFTER this, his majesty being desirous to discourse longer and more familiarly with me, he made me ascend all the steps leading to the throne. I took this occasion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of sincerity and affection.

1603. affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the discourses attributed to Henry, to me and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confessed that he had for some time believed them, but that he had at last discovered the whole to be only an artifice of their common enemies, who, by using such means to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to them. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said; and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war among their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimera's of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the king of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: which conduct was equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the resentment which he shewed against Spain, before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

THE king of England changed this subject to that of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chase; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chase, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chase, the king of France

France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Hereupon James said, that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me, as it were by interrupting himself, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince, that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all these false reports, and succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely sorry; and this was, that his physicians had forbid him the chase. To this I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chase, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

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WHEN I acquainted Henry with this part of our conversation, he, in his answer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in pursuance to the advice of his physicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he used to be, and that since my departure he had been at the death of five or six stags without the least inconvenience. "Well," said the king of England to me, still continuing the same subject, "I understand you have sent part of the produce of my sport to count d'Aremberg; and how do you think he received it? I assure you, it was not at all agreeable to him. He says, you sent it only to shew that you was more regarded than he; and he is in the right, for I surely will make some difference between my good brother the king of France, and his masters, who have sent me an ambassador who can neither walk nor talk; he demanded an audience of me in a garden, because he could not walk up stairs into a room." James then asked me, whether the Spanish ambassador, who had been sent to him, had passed through France? and upon my replying that he had: "Spain, said he, sends me an ambassador post, that he may arrive the sooner, and finish our affairs in post-haste." Thus upon every occasion

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casion he enveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis *, courier-major to his Catholic majesty, had, in effect, taken his rout through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to discover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambassador was Valasco †, constable of Castile, who soon followed him.

AFTER all this, James asked me (for he did not dwell long upon one subject) whether I went to the protestant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then, said he, you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of Sancy, who thought by that condescension to make his fortune; but, by God's providence, did just the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in France in friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and being so frequently visited by the Pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given rise to it. "Do you give the Pope the title of Holiness?" said James. I replied, "That to conform to the custom established in France, I did." He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve. He spoke to me of Du-Plessis, and appeared somewhat concerned for his fortune and present condition: he said, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, that he had been greatly to blame, to publish his last book under his own name; because, by the titles which he therein gave himself, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the services which he had rendered the protestant religion. He said not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chastisement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he said, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I THINK I have omitted nothing of any consequence of what was said to me by the king of England, in this my first audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, saying, it would be time for me to go to supper, and to my repose. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accosted by admiral Howard, lord

* John Taxis, count of Villa-Mediana. † John Ferdinand de Velasco, duke of Frias.

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Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain, Erskine, in conducting me cross the court of the palace, spoke to me of his attachment to his most Christian majesty, and his desire of being ranked amongst the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, said pretty near the same to me: no one among all the English lords has more understanding, capacity, courage, nor possessed more authority, than he: he manifested a great desire to have a private conversation with me upon the present affairs. I gathered from what he said, though he did not speak in plain terms, that he was not satisfied with the government; that he blamed the greatest part of the king's actions; in short, to say it in a word, that he had no great share either of fidelity or esteem for James. It is not necessary to say with what reserve and circumspection I listened to such discourse.

THE open declaration which the king of England had made against Spain, had given me some hopes that the court of London would be insensibly prejudiced against that court. In the interval between my first and second audience, several things happened which increased these hopes. An English catholic, who was likewise a jesuit (as was at first reported) was seized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being questioned, he confessed that he had disguised himself in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppression of the new king of England, unless he re-established the romish religion in his dominions solely, or at least with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the protestants, and unless he likewise declared himself against the protestants of Holland; that eight other jesuits had conspired with him in this design, and that they had actually dispersed themselves in different parts of London, in order to embrace any opportunity that might offer to destroy this prince. But the report was false, in regard to the person of this suspected Englishman, for he was not a jesuit *, but only a seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason count d'Arenberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, in this conspiracy, which is the same that charges the jesuits with having any concern will be mentioned below, b. 129.

1603. the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or at least till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution, which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

IT is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London: this, said they, was to favour the Spanish faction; which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to shew themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shewn to her memory: nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence to myself, that I refrained following such a general example.

I BELIEVE the Spanish faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for instead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it said, that so far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendship and alliance, it was not even safe to contract with her; that the ambassador of this court had not dared to present himself in London, and that most certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majesty was compared with that of his most Christian majesty. Henry's procedure appeared so open and ingenuous, and so far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it: he, said they, would never have sent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was most necessary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both; nor would I myself, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of those characters, whose conclusion is generally that of beholding one's self at once both dishonoured and sacrificed to the public indignation. In short, if a union between the two crowns,
which

which I proposed, was not in all respects the best conduct that they could pursue, it was at least the safest; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings should consider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they sometimes reasoned in the council, and in the presence of the king of England, very much to the satisfaction of those counsellors who were in our interests, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Montjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almost public profession which he made of attachment to France, herein used his utmost interest and endeavours.

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BUT all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost entirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only scarce appeared surmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil, were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he could not but be baffled notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that, having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himself, and, making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of power of all men, should remain unknown only to them? But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they

were

1603. were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

SUPPOSING also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt, whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to shew to the earl of Essex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference, that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in presence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erskine, who was present three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which in my presence they had kept a profound silence. A strange behaviour this! from whence, however, I made some discovery of what sort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been present at a meeting of these ambassadors, wherein only those of his majesty's council and the states-deputies were admitted; that here, instead of labouring mutually to strengthen themselves in laudable resolutions, each of them had only sought to draw himself out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Danish deputy represented, that indeed his master possessed a great extent of territory, but for the most part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its situation, rather expensive than profitable; that the submission and tractableness of the people was an advantage of no use to the king his master, because, from the prodigious variation of their manners and customs, he could

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could neither understand them, nor could they understand one another; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to establish a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprise. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but, on the contrary, seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that, I confess, I am at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure: he spoke of Spain only with contempt; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the States, he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly, and intimated, that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from a saying of the king of England, That every new king, if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence; concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North* with some little attention, we shall perceive they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the north; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires; for barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low

* The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wis-

dom and policy of some of the Northern powers.

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Countries, was knowing nothing, or at most but very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me, was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy, one night when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

FROM the moment when king James ascended the throne of England, said this secretary, the king of Spain has not ceased to solicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archdukes, or by the English catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him, against France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially that his Britannic majesty, had a title so clear and incontestable to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in him not to make use of it, at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom presented so fair an opportunity: and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this enterprise, were, that James and his catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His catholic majesty, for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretensions upon the United-Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that, in consideration of this favour, they would consent to strengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The king of England having made no answer to all these great offers, farther than by saying, that they were premature, and that he chose to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new subjects, and by strengthening himself upon the throne, Spain easily perceived that this reply was a civil refusal; and James not being disposed by open force to attempt the recovery of his

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antient possessions, Spain then turned her endeavours to persuade this prince, at least to favour the French provinces in their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke; the Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have every where reported that it only depended upon themselves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquillity without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under shelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cause to apprehend either the resentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, because care would be taken at the same time to involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under a necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this second proposition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Britannic majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he should conclude no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United-Provinces.

IF the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appears so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that, from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England, in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion, yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, both between

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THAT article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprize was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the States as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she would herein have been more grossly deceived; for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that too of their antient and only ally. I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought; they upon all occasions have constantly said that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them; and if sometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories, which her own force might acquire?

IN regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barnevelt, who with Aërsens must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter, could be sufficiently depended upon; the first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence; which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them believed, not with
any

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any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even that they should come to his ears, but only with design to encrease the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was in these terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who sometimes considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to Spain, who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

THE day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday the 25th; that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, said he, that he might confer with me alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his most christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds*, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his knowledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

IMMEDIATELY upon my entrance this prince arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my com-

* Edmonds had been agent and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and

he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

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mission, without reserve, and without witnesses; "Not, said I, that the king my master has sent me to require any thing of your majesty, but only to be informed of your intentions in regard to affairs wherein your majesties may both be equally concerned; and that the king my master may conform to them, as a good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted, with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in which," said he, it is necessary to preserve an equilibrium between three of "its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Stuart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria in Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really though secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marshal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had given the duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprise upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the Jesuits and the English catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the Jesuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures, in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I VERY highly applauded such laudable sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it; nor could I have said any thing further on the subject, had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me, that, having promised a little, he should perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his christian majesty; and that Henry

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only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment of that crown, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years past; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indispensably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to sap the foundation of so vast a dominion, it was therefore absolutely necessary now to concert the proper measures for it, that no step might be taken to the contrary; and that this, together with the means whereby the preservation of the United Provinces might be provisionally secured, was all that I had to desire of his majesty. “But, said the king of England, what better assistance would you that the king of France and I should give the Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us in a general treaty of partition and pacification between them and Spain, upon conditions of which we shall ourselves be guarantee? whereby, should Spain first fail in the observation of them, we shall then have just reason to take arms against her, and drive her entirely out of these provinces: and I consent, added he, upon a supposition that this will be the case, immediately to determine with you, what means and what forces we shall employ for the execution of it.” James was not sensible of all the objections to this partition-treaty which he proposed between Spain and the Low Countries; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear satisfied with what he proposed, but during the delays which negotiating this treaty would produce, especially with a court whose dilatoriness was one of the chief arts of her policy, Ostend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being separated from it; and Spain would in the mean time strengthen herself in what she did possess, and would be preparing the means for succeeding more effectually in her design of subjecting the rest of this state.

I DESIRED his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious reflection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for

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for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immerfed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right; that the affair was of great consequence; that he had often thought of it, though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me; and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced, that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not herein the least room for doubt; that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English counsellors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the king of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn those forces against France, which I would persuade him to employ against Spain.

JAMES entered of himself into the sentiments with which I wanted to inspire him, in regard to this council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the same opinion with some of his courtiers, in respect to the antient pretensions of England upon France; that, besides that the present conjuncture and political state of affairs did not permit him to think seriously about them, he also considered these pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irresistibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whose prescription was more than centenary; which words he repeated several times: that this consideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previously assure me, that whatever his final resolution might be, at least he would not suffer the United Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the present I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor press him to a conclusion, till he had first conferred with two or three of his ministers, whose knowledge, as well as honesty, he was well convinced of; that besides, from the reflections which I had suggested to him, he was now able to distinguish

stinguish and resist the voice of passion and prejudice : and lastly, that he would in a short time acquaint me with what might be farther necessary for me to know, in regard to his sentiments and final resolution.

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I SHOULD have been very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head so soon, but James broke it off, by saying, that he should finish the remainder of it another time, because he wanted now to have some conversation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector of Palatine had strongly solicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refused to concern himself in it at all, through fear lest he should favour a rebel. He desired me to relate to him all the circumstances of it : which I accordingly did very succinctly ; whereby the whole affair sufficiently declared its own merits. James gave me his word, that however he might be solicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himself in it; and said, he wished others would meddle as little in the affairs of the English catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these last words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

IN order to understand what is here meant, it is necessary to be informed, that some time before the death of Elizabeth the partisans of Spain, having, as usual, the jesuits at their head, had raised disturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Though religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either because the king of Spain, as his flatterers had persuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were so well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretensions, or because he sought to involve the successor of Elizabeth in such perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing else. The jesuits, upon this occasion, very imprudently, it should seem, had differed with the English catholic secular clergy : this was chiefly occasioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-priest *, which the English catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this

* Cardinal D'Ossat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, says, that at the suggestion of an English jesuit, whose name was father Personio (or Parsons) rector of the English college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was so to any, the Pope created in England a

certain arch-priest, to whose authority all the ecclesiastics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be subject. By this means, adds he, it was proposed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

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occasion, for reasons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with those jesuits, nor Spain, but, on the contrary, listened very favourably to the secular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a passport under the hand of Cecil himself: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought she ought to defend the seculars; and also, that she looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the same opinion with Elizabeth, and the common interest had from the first determined him at the court of Rome to support the English clergy against the Spanish cabal.

FROM hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occasion to prejudice James against us *, by insinuating to him, that Henry had supported the English clergy only with design to gain them in his own interests, and that from the same views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this respect. I represented to him, that Henry having considered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spanish interests, was a point of the utmost consequence; he had therefore been indispenably obliged to appear in their favour upon several occasions; but that he had been so far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any design prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his sole intention had been to oppose this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the least from their duty, or even appeared so to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

JAMES was so fully satisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the roman catholics of his kingdom; "from your information, said he, and with the approbation of Henry." He had afterwards several opportunities of being convinced that I had not imposed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope's nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the English catholics. James answered this letter in a more obliging manner than was usual with the court of London to letters received

* The king of England cannot be considered as blameable for having taken umbrage against France upon that account. The same cardinal gave us to understand, that the political views of the Spanish party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the

English catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewise true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this design, but also that he had acquiesced with Elizabeth in quite different purposes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

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from the court of Rome; and being perhaps determined by my reasons, he not only entered into the same views in regard to this affair which good policy had suggested to Henry, but it also seemed probable, that to secure the English catholic party, he would chuse rather to have recourse to the Pope and his ministers, than to any foreign prince. The Pope, on his side, did not shew himself insensible of this preference *: one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote against that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holiness would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to stay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumstance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

UPON my departure, at the conclusion of this my second audience, I was informed that this prince was to set out the Monday following to meet the queen; and I judged, that the audience which his majesty promised to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the last I should obtain; and as I was afraid I should not be able to conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this request, all his time being absolutely engaged till Sunday; but that he would send his ministers on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

ACCORDINGLY, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant general in Ireland, and the secretary Cecil, who was the speaker. After the first compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought that he could not better shew his most Christian majesty how sensible he was, both of the uprightness of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in regard to the relief of Ostend, and the support of the States.

* We must believe either that his Holiness had no concern in the political design which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal D'Ossat; or that, perceiving it had miscarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were possible,

the king of England, who had at first shewn himself so favourably disposed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become so himself; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to ascend the throne without opposition.

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I was immediately sensible of this secretary's artifice, and the design of it, in thus construing what I had said to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my master would have been extremely glad to have had some measures taken in Europe, to prevent the invasions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was so far from having sent me to give law to his Britannic majesty, that he did not himself know what conduct to pursue in regard to the affairs of those provinces, with the true state of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind with regard to the States, because, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had said to his Britannic majesty, than that when he should be well disposed towards them, I could engage that the dispositions of his most Christian majesty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I was come about no other design, than to be informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

CECIL replied, that he had no surreptitious design upon me by what he had said, but only to hear my sentiments of the present situation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterprise seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to shew, that the war would be still less agreeable, than the peace, to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expences were requisite in consequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must alone be engaged in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his consent with joy.

I GAVE Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her, instead of laying the foundation of an alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself personally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheless, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in case his proposal for an union with France within a year had been sincere on his part, because the king of France would rather chuse to defer the declaration of war against Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the present situation of her affairs, as it was to England.

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UPON this occasion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in terms the most explicit, that I was not come to propose to the English council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England against Spain; but only to represent, that good policy required them not to suffer the United-Provinces to be oppressed for want of succours, which might be given them without disturbing the quiet of the rest of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majesty upon the nature of these succours, and the other steps to be taken, both at present and in future, in favour of the Flemings. Upon this, the king's counsellors thanked me for the sincerity with which I had spoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majesty hereupon, that then he would converse with the deputies of the States about it, and, if I desired it, even in my presence, which I did not think proper to oppose: having said this we separated.

COUNT d'Arenberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, sent at last to desire the king of England would dispense with it entirely, on account of his indisposition, and that he would only send one of his counsellors to confer with him. James did not appear satisfied with this procedure; he however granted him what he desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this com-

1603. million. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning himself, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct, that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kinlofs, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'AREMBERG confined himself wholly to compliment, and to the most general terms: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved: indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it over to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this awkward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador, who began to be no longer expected, would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the dissipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counsellors appeared disposed to fall into their former irresolution. I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted but this ambassador would make proposals to his Britannic majesty, accompanied by irresistible offers, part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

WHAT was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived

rived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon: he said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our setting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chace and the weather; the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myself who sat with James at table, where I was not a little surpris'd to behold that he was always served on the knee: a furtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

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THE conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than she. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surpris'd at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference; though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved every thing that had been done in the last conference between the counsellors and me; that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose, he gave orders

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ders that his counsellors should, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done. At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, sometimes even the whole of it.

THE journey which James was to have made having been prevented or deferred, I hoped I should, without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little this day. For notwithstanding what has here been said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired; for the king of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy presage, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England, with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests.

For this purpose Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the lowest ebb of despair, would abandon every thing, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded; because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause
of

of the United Provinces, before their strength and spirits were entirely spent and exhausted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, because I was come to London only, if it were possible, to enter into an association with the English, and in case they refused this, to know their reasons.

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AFTER this, we had some discourse about the towns destined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil, in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemish deputies, had given him to understand, that England, being resolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the cession of those places as a security; and in consequence of this cession, Cecil had only promised him, that these towns should be preserved in a strict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as interesting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reserve which ought to be observed by a man entrusted upon oath with the secrets of his council, that the States had put things in such a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could see itself in possession of those places. But from hence he also inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the consequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reason that he pressed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confessed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the resolution of his masters; but that the king of France, upon this occasion, could only lament their situation, not being in a condition to support them with open force against Spain and England together.

IN the afternoon, all the Flemish deputies came in a body to assist in the conference; and soon after them the English counsellors, appointed by his Britannic majesty, also arrived. Cecil being, as usual, the speaker for all of them, began by saying directly, that the king of England was really in the interest of the States. And turning to me, he asked me, whether this was not what I desired, and the real design of my commission? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt hasty procedure of the secretary; and instead of giving him a direct answer, I addressed myself to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings designing to interest themselves in their affairs, they ought therefore justly to represent the state of them; that from a full and perfect knowledge of their necessity, the succours which they wanted.

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wanted might be ascertained. Barnevelt, as usual, drew a picture of the miseries to which Spain had reduced them; and these he described in as lively and affecting a manner as he possibly could. But to come more immediately to the business, he said, it was necessary that the Spaniards should be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to succeed in this in the space of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United-Provinces amounted to about twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, not including the garrisons, and three thousand cavalry, besides fifty ships actually in a condition to serve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was necessary, than for the two kings to double these forces, by furnishing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I WAS apprehensive these propositions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authorise the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he should have been more careful only to ask what could be granted. I then asked Cecil, in a manner somewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his master, in regard to what was here proposed to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States, that is, he would consent privately to assist the United-Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing farther.

THE deputies not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his discourse, said, that indeed the king of England was very willing to assist the States, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said, that in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute

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contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to have upon the coast of Spain, and in the Indies: and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of these forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause.

I WAS extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without any equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United-Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his British majesty might be inclined to a war, or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss, in regard to the following suppositions; first, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented to him, that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bressé, not to mention the squadrons of galleys which he must also have to secure the mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes.

THEN replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the king of France the whole or greatest part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England;

1603: that if by such means the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expences should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than these; such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France; that Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but again, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by shewing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

WHAT I said made not the impression upon my hearers which I desired; on the contrary, the English took fire, and protested, if any thing farther was insisted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more especially, in this conference, completed his making himself known to me for what he really was; he made use only of double expressions, vague proposals, and false meanings, being perfectly sensible that reason was not on his side. The moderation and sincerity which I opposed to his ill designing subtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a word I made him feel the ridiculousness of what he said, put him into confusion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to shew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from me or the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far, as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies, that these sums should

should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, and, upon my refusal, they all said it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was in my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consist in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable thing. What piqued me the most was to see that these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substituted their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

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THE deputies, who had returned, and were present during this, again retired, greatly dissatisfied no doubt, and in greater perplexity than before; whereupon Cecil once more changed his battery: he said, that since the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct therefore which the two kings could pursue, would be to continue to live in friendship, but without intermeddling with any foreign disputes whatsoever. This, probably, was what the secretary really purposed; and, notwithstanding the length and frequency of his discourses, was all he had ever uttered with sincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the English, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, said, they would relate to the king every thing which had passed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things should be expeditiously settled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my last, and that wherein I should take my leave, because, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept silence upon this occasion, most certainly it was not because I acquiesced in what they said; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again exposed themselves, and as it were confessed themselves to be liars and impostors, had inspired me with the utmost contempt for them; but I judged, that expostulation or passion would be so far from making them quit a resolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture, whereas, as matters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted be-

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tween the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission, because I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the designs which his counsellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in respect to this, was what I proposed in my third audience, for I do not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords Hume and Seaford about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

THE king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that no one should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that shewed how greatly he was satisfied with the king of France and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted, that making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and, after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his counsellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and me and the Flemish deputies; and I promised, if he would give me leave, to give him a sincere and just relation of every thing.

THE king approving my proposal, I acquainted him with all that had passed between us the preceding evening; I insisted more especially upon the demand to discharge the debt owing to England, and on the aspersions upon his most Christian majesty and me, with which it had been

been accompanied; I added, that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with eulogies on the generosity, the prudence, and the perfect friendship of the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, and this because he himself had authorised me to do it, both by his words and actions, I should be obliged, on a sudden, to write to him in a quite contrary style, without having any reason to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my master could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful minister, to the interests with which he had entrusted me; and it would besides, be considered as the effect of a determined friendship with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might ensue between the two kings, whose interest as well as inclination required their continuing in a constant state of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the king of England, that there were several of those whom he admitted into his council who were neither well disposed in themselves, nor well affected to his person; that, without naming them to him, he ought to consider as such all those who appeared so little solicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to advise him, under the name of an ally, to render himself the slave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in some degree, diffident of such persons whose characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wisdom, than the representations of his ministers.

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It was no difficult matter to inspire the king of England with a diffidence of his ministers, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observation was just; I even thought I plainly perceived, that, either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, this prince was at last in the most favourable disposition I could wish him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our conversation some general hints of a project, by which, with the assistance of his Britannic majesty, the tranquillity of all Europe might be secured. Having said this, I remained silent, as though I had been apprehensive of fatiguing him by too long a discourse: but I knew the curiosity of James would be excited by the little I had said; accordingly he replied, that my discourse had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and asked some of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, said the king to me, returning, I will break off the party
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 " to the end, and this employment will, I am persuaded, be of more
 " service to me than the other."

THE reason that induced me to hazard a step of such consequence, as that of communicating to king James the great designs upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being persuaded this prince was already of himself inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this resolution from some great and noble motive; and because, on the other side, his ministers constantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently because he could not support himself against them, from a persuasion that they opposed his sentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very necessary.

I THEREFORE resumed the discourse, and told him, that, without doubt, he had sometimes thought, and with good reason, that a man in possession of the places and honours with which I was known to be invested, never quitted his post but for a very urgent occasion; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been silent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what it was of so interesting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least light into the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy sacrament.

THOUGH I had now nothing to fear from his indiscretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and, beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was most interested, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent soever he might perhaps

perhaps have supposed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no less certain that I was attached to mine, even so much as to prefer it to my family, fortune, country, and even king; that I had neglected nothing which might incline the king my master to establish it in France upon solid foundations, being under great apprehensions lest it might one day be overwhelmed by so powerful a faction, as that of an union of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, the arch-dukes, the catholic princes of Germany, and so many other states and communities interested in its suppression; that my success hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to conjunctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party opposite to the house of Austria. That because these circumstances might change, or because I, who was the only person that would use any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might lose my place and his favour, I did not see how the king of France could resist a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this consideration had long inspired me with the thoughts of finding a person for the execution of this design, who by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accomplish it, and fix Henry in his sentiments. That having found all that I had sought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himself to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a design to which he would always appear to have put the finishing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his most Christian majesty.

THERE remained only to explain to him the nature of this design, of which at first I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an association of all the princes and states in Europe, whose interest it was to diminish the power of the house of Austria, the foundation of which should be an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the closest union of the two royal houses of Bourbon and Stuart. I represented this association in a light which shewed it might be very easily formed. There was not the least difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the protestant princes and states; and it might be rendered sufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes also: for example, the turbulent and ambitious disposition of the duke of Savoy might be soothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promises to distribute among them those

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THE king of England immediately started some objections, upon the difficulty of uniting so many different princes so differently disposed; the same nearly which Henry had made when we had last discoursed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the slight sketch which I had given him of the design, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expressed a desire of being more circumstantially informed of it. In conformity with which desire, the following is the substance of what I said to his Britannic majesty.

EUROPE is divided into two factions, which are not so justly distinguished by their different religions, because the catholics and protestants are confounded together in almost all places, as they are by their political interests; the first is composed of the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spanish Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic states of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewise must be comprised, the catholics dispersed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jesuits, whose views, no doubt, are to subject every thing to the Spanish monarchy. The second includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United-Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Muscovy, and Transilvania, though these countries are subject to the christian religion, because the wars in which they are almost continually

ally engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in some manner foreign in regard to those of the western part of Europe.

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WERE the power to be estimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the slightest glance, not very favourable to the second of these factions, and the superiority would apparently be determined in favour of the first: nevertheless, nothing is more erroneous than such an opinion, which may thus be proved: Spain, which must here be named first of her faction (though from rank and dignity she is only the third) because she is in reality the soul of it; Spain, I say, including her dominions in the East and West Indies, does indeed possess an extent of territory as large as Turkey and Persia together. But if it be true (and that it is so cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ships and inhabitants, this immense extent of territory, instead of being serviceable, is burdensome.

AND if we consider the other powers of this party, we shall every where find reason to diminish our ordinary ideas. The Pope seems firmly attached to Spain; and, surrounded as he is on all sides by this formidable power, and having no reason to expect succours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his interest to be so. But as he does, in fact, consider his situation as but little different from real servitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the Jesuits only make a vain appearance of supporting his authority; it may, doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without the running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

IN regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to serve to increase the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of Austrian power: besides, what is his power? it consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to incursions of the formidable armies of the Grand Signior; liable, on the other side, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the electoral princes

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Thus, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almost all the powers on which Spain seems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her but little service. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themselves from the dominion of the Emperor, and even to aggrandise themselves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the ecclesiastical princes, than on the others. A foreign Emperor is what they most wish, provided he is not a protestant. Nothing could give the arch-dukes a greater pleasure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they should, in Flanders, become sovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her servants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king Spain, for doing so much less for the daughter which he bestowed upon him, than for her younger sister. As to Italy, it need only be observed, that it will be obliged to acquiesce in the will of the stronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the second of the factions here described has nothing to fear, provided it understands its own interests well enough to continue in a constant state of union. Now it is also certain, that in this scheme these so natural motives to disunion do not occur; and that all of them, even that caused by the difference of religion, which in some sort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred

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hatred against Spain, which is the great and common motive by which these powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the least jealous of his glory, who would refuse to enter into an association strengthened by four such powerful kings as those of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, closely united? Is was a saying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could resist these four powers, in strict alliance with each other.

THESE truths being supposed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the house of Austria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to possess that dominion only. These methods consist either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of these. The first of the secret means is, to divest the house of Austria of the Indies; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourse with these countries to the rest of the Europeans, than she has to destroy their natural inhabitants; and all the nations of Europe having also a liberty to make establishments in the new discovered countries as soon as they have passed the line, this enterprize would therefore be easily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thousand men, all provided and victualled for six months; England to furnish the ships, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the most powerful, the money and soldiers. There would be no occasion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries should be equally divided.

DURING this, the second of these means should be secretly prepared, upon occasion of the succession to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far distant, in such manner, that under favour of the opportunities which these two incidents might furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the antient free manner of election.

THE first of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this state into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the first side of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea: the second is bounded by France, *viz.* by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Messin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologn, and
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Mentz,

1603. Mentz, as far as Dusseldorp. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the first, France the second, the electors and the other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately submit.

THE second of the two last means, is for the league above mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretences to any share of the conquest, and relinquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Tirol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to the Pope, as being most convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Istria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the most solid foundation of this confederacy would arise from all the parties being gainers by it. The rest of Italy, subject to its petty princes, might perhaps be suffered to continue under its present form of government, provided that all these little states were together considered as composing only one body or republic, of which they should be so many members.

THIS is a pretty just account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majesty with the design to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confessed that I was not myself able to elucidate the design; that I was not surprised that his majesty had at first perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it also, but that they only proceeded from my own weakness, and the impossibility of shewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long discourses; that I was convinced in my own mind, the design was not only possible, but that also the success of it was infallible; that if any thing was found defective in the scheme as I had conceived it, it might easily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and some of the best generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be entrusted.

I THEN

I THEN returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majesty, that this alliance being the chief and necessary foundation of the confederacy which I had proposed to him, this must therefore necessarily begin it, without paying any regard to the discourses of prejudiced persons, or being affected by such frivolous considerations as those of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I assured him, that England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amassing such vast sums, were only designed hereafter to enable him of himself to accomplish the greatest part of this important design; at least, that I could flatter myself with success in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public service, which were to powerful upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his most sensible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his desire of being brought into comparison with Henry, and of sharing his praises. 1603.

My earnestness to succeed gave such force and clearness to my expressions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of transport proceeding from his friendship for me, and a sense of the wrong measures which hitherto endeavours had been used to make him pursue. "No, sir, said he, do not fear that I shall ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He protested with the same ardour, that he would not on any consideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had said would yet farther confirm him in the sentiments with which I had inspired him; that he would even now engage to sign the plan of alliance which I had presented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himself made some inconsiderable alterations; that I should also sign it in the name of the king of France, unless I rather chose to carry it with me unsigned, to shew it to his most Christian majesty, in which case he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or sending it back at the end of a month or six weeks, approved and signed by Henry, he would immediately, and without the least difficulty, join to it his own signature. He concluded, by obligingly assuring me, that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promise the same secrecy in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had had the boldness to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid

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OUR conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil, said this prince to him, I command you, without any reply or objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare the necessary writings, according to which, *I will then give the dexter* *, and all assurances to the ambassadors of *mesieurs* the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me, and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. ambassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?"

I REPLIED by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his counsellors that were present. Upon my departure, he gave orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to escort me to London.

* This expression signifies an oath, or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XVI.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a piece, whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptance of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occasion, I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which necessity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propose any thing to the king of England but as of myself. 1603.

JAMES, being more entirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the protestant religion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with

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with him even with greater readiness. But how great is the difference between such a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein, by virtue of a full power from the king, I might, with all the care and exactness possible, have inserted every particular in that clear and distinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their strength and duration. I should not so confidently assert, that, upon this occasion, instead of the mere formula, I had reason to expect his Britannic majesty's signature of a complete treaty, which it would not be possible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a signed blank, been an authentic testimony, that I have here advanced nothing from suggestions of vanity or self-love.

BUT I should reproach myself with being guilty of injustice, were I to appear suspicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could shew himself more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be least exposed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and master of its sentiments, is, however, the most changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other instance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almost always fail in the execution, provided they can find the smallest colour or pretence for so atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a solemn promise or engagement were not the same as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as soon as I was gone, the counsellors of his Britannic majesty would use their utmost efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the most active for this purpose, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confusion from the conversation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

NEVERTHELESS, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negotiation: my own situation in the affair considered *, its conclusion was as happy and advantageous as it

* This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with great eulogiums, in almost all the histories and memoirs of that time,

without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoke of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the author could

could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risque of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when considered in respect of Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more, without shewing a disregard to the terms prescribed, not only in my public, but even in my private instructions. However, from what I had done there arose one real and very sensible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither so soon nor so easily return to the former.

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I THEREFORE immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished, I presented to the king of England and his counsellors, to be by them finally revised and examined: they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner.

THE king of England, after returning his most Christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France, and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which, in a manner, comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such times as

thors of Villeroi's memoirs of State, and of the history of the duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given, even in the most minute circumstances. Vol. II. p. 577, & seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first vo-

lume of Siri, Mem. second. Besides the detail of the marquis de Rosny's embassy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here, p. 226, & seq. we find quite through this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of king James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.

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the two kings should judge proper. The United-Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated, that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquility, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

HOWEVER, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly, when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-general with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression; the number of men who were to compose these succours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they should be sent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament should be defrayed by his most Christian majesty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the sum due from France to England. It was likewise agreed, that these proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries should be pursued with as much secrecy as was possible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a supposition that this power, considering this action as an absolute infraction, should make reprisals upon the two protecting kings, the following resolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France should furnish him with an army of six thousand French at his own expence, during the whole time of the war, and in four years, and by equal proportions, discharge the remainder of his debt. England should act precisely in the same manner, in regard to France, in case the storm should fall upon her; the choice of either sea or land should be in the option of the party attacked, nor should England in this case require any part of her debt. Finally, should Spain at once declare war against both the allied princes, in order to act offensively, and at the same time promote the security of Flanders, his most Christian majesty should have an army of twenty thousand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Bresse; he should likewise have the same number of forces in Flanders; and should farther divide the Spanish forces, by directing his galleys to cruize in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majesty on his side, besides a land army of at least six thousand men,

men, which he should keep in constant readiness, should send a fleet into the West-Indies, and should order another to cruise upon the coasts of Spain. All payment of debts should be suspended, and each should defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

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SUCH was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it, and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the king of England, in presence of his counsellors: my dispatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions, it is a stroke of good policy, always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

AMONG the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my dispatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it: it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied: I

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questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to the chace, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent to his majesty, entreating him to make all possible inquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the post-master of Ecouan.

I HAD before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traytor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter: this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the state, to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover; *Packet to be given into the king's own hands, without being opened.* He repented it no doubt, when he found he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover; and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

HENRY could have wished that I had practised upon the queen of England and the prince her son, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this prince remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay at London, whilst several other affairs almost as important required my presence at Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs most over the absent; my friends lost yet more than me from
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my not being among them. I entrusted Vaucelas * my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majesties which I had brought for her ; and I instructed him in what he should do and say, to obtain what the king desired to know concerning this princefs.

WHILST I was very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I had received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure for some days, and even prevented my writing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me, and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a hunting the same day, “ to dissipate the uneasiness, added he, very obligingly, which he should feel for my departure.”

I ATTENDED his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Westminster is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection ; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France ; but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that, by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any farther discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said he considered this prince as his sole model as well as his friend ; and protested, that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of re-

* Andrew de Cocheflet, Baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counsellor of state and ambassador in Spain and Savoy ; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's second wife.

The house of Cocheflet is mentioned in Du Chesne, as one of the most antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the house of Baliol in Normandy.

1603. capitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him, from any of the subjects of the king of France; and required the same deference from the king of France, particularly with regard to any jesuits who might be found in disguise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said, that he advised him from his heart, never to be guilty of such an error as to recall them; he insisted on this article the most: for indeed he hated the jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased by his considering them as his personal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances, which he required of his most Christian majesty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly touched*.

BEING furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as at my arrival. Sidney and the English vice-admiral escorted me to the sea-side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and passage by sea.

BUT I should before have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his most Christian majesty. That to king James was six fine horses richly caparisoned, to which Henry added also another gift, which ought to be esteemed still more considerable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all respects the best and most complete horseman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and most beautiful Venetian glass, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewise with diamonds, a fencing master, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word all those whom I have occasionally mentioned, besides some others, were presented, some with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; several ladies also received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all

* Matthieu the historian says, the king of England made the marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be distributed in certain places, amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions to some English lords, were to retain them, and attach them more strongly to his interests. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to distribute them so as to avoid giving any cause of jealousy between these English lords, and to prevent king James himself from conceiving any jealousy of my intention. The precaution which I used for this purpose was to ask his permission, by some small gratifications to acknowledge the services I had received in his court.

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AT Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he passed some days here, during which the queen made a journey to Liefse. I did not take any rest at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readiness to embark the next day. The weather was so bad in the night, that the English vice-admiral very seriously advised me to alter my resolution. The least delay appeared no less insupportable to all my retinue than to myself, especially to those city sparks who find themselves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation; we met with so violent a tempest, that we were in the utmost danger; we were the whole day in crossing the channel, and so extremely sea-sick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us, we must have surrendered.

A SECOND letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place, I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in case my health would permit me to make use of them. I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterets.

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I WOULD not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his majesty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought there to him; Bellievre, Villeroi, De Maiffies, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as De Maiffies afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so much wished to see, he is at last arrived; my cousin the count of Soissons must be called, that he may be present at the brief relation he will give us of what he has seen, heard, said, and done, of which he has wrote me nothing: let my horses be sent back, I shall not now go into the forest."

HIS majesty would not suffer me to kneel to kiss his hand, but embraced me twice very closely. His first words were, that he was perfectly satisfied with my services; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he should take pleasure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be somewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity should present, to discourse on so many different matters. I began with the person of the king of England, which I described to him nearly the same as I have already in these Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expressed for his majesty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his desire to render himself worthy of the comparison. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inspire him, and how far he was from espousing the party of the revolted French calvinists. King James was sensible from his own situation, how very unfit this last procedure would have been, having so great a number of seditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cause him much trouble. I added, that if I had myself been disposed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very serious enterprises: I mentioned the affair of the lost dispatch, and spoke my sentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majesty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my last audience, and, together with the form of the treaty signed by us both, I presented to him the two letters from his Britannic majesty, and another letter wrote

wrote to his majesty, since my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroi to read all those letters to him. 1603.

BEAUMONT in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was instantly expected in London, from whence she would go directly to Windsor to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the duke of Brunswick, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United-Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

BEAUMONT wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded the deputies of the Low Countries would never consent to it, though the emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, that they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed, that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them, that they should not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permission which James had given them to raise soldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of these recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by saying, that, in order to be still more perfectly informed of every thing that passed, and to remind the king

1603. of England of his promises if necessary, he was going himself to Windsor. I take no notice of those passages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the highest praises to my conduct and my negotiation.

VILLEROI having finished reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, cousin, said Henry, addressing himself to the count of Soissons, what do you think of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require it of me, said he, I must say, that I think the marquis of Rosny has very great credit with the king of England, and that he is in a marvelous good intelligence with the English, at least if his relation, and all which you have been informed of, is true; for which reason he ought to have brought much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better form than that which he has presented to you, which is really nothing more than a mere project of hopes and fair words, without any certainty that they will ever be executed." "What you have said is truly very fine and good, replied Henry: nothing is so easy as to discover faults in the actions of others." His majesty still continued to speak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my eulogy. He said, I was the only person in France who, with so limited a power, could have performed what I had; that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen and expected the difficulties with which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me *Carte-blanche*. "Rosny, said he, in his conduct has given me an example, which confirms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, though I do not know whether I speak it right, *Mitte sapientem, & nihil dicas*: and I am certain, that, if his presence should again become necessary on the other side, he will always be ready to return, and serve me with the same ability and address which he has here shewn." I do not relate all by a great deal with which, upon this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired him for my defence: what gave me the most sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as infinitely superior to all the praises he bestowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praising me to my face, because he knew that, instead of those praises making me vain and less diligent, they would only increase my desire of acting still better. These words silenced the count of Soissons.

I THEN answered several questions which the king asked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great Britain, on the character of the English, and what they thought of their new king. After this, the conversation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumstantial relation of it, gave his entire approbation of my conduct therein, considering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuse him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his majesty with the character of young Servin *, such as I have already given. The king having twice asked whether dinner was ready, went in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroy to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repose till the next day, as being what I must very much want, after having rode post, and that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to serve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants were arrived; "And to morrow morning, said he, we will renew our discourse."

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IN the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest, which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at supper, he sent me two excellent melons and four partridges; at the same time acquainting me, that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his counsellors were with him, which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny, said he, we will take a walk while the freshness of the morning continues; I have some questions to ask you, and some matters to discuss, on which I have been thinking the whole night. I arose at four o'clock, these things having pressed my thoughts so strongly, that I have not been able to sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroy, and Sillery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner, during the three following days which his majesty passed at Villers-Coterets. In these conversations, I gave him an exact and particular account of all

* L'Etoile makes mention of him. "It is surprising, says he, how it could hap-

"pen, that the plague should find means to attack so great a plague as he."

1603. the most secret and important matters, with which he still remained to be acquainted with.

I RECEIVED several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a supplement to the affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else: she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kinlos, who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

DURING all this the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged without him to demand his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it: I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's distaste of business, and his passion for the chase, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time, his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural disposition, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct, as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

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No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (for he did at last arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrusts, and suspensions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors, by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Spaniard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English catholics * against James's person. Beaumont constantly treated this insinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true state of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakness and the meanness of its sentiments, discover an unanswerable argument to disprove it.

BUT a more certain and undoubted conspiracy was that of some English lords, who formed the design of stabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the design was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the instigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and several others of the principal servants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, though they had appeared among the most forward to do homage to her successor. Nevertheless Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the subject of much discourse. A religious dispute, which arose in the conference between the protestants and puritans, increased the disorder. The conversation of the court turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The earl of Northumberland struck colonel Vere in the face, in presence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was justly incensed at so disrespectful and outrageous an insult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the

* It produced a proclamation, whereby king James banished the Jesuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villerni, vol. III. p. 217.

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lie in the queen's presence, and used several other atrocious expressions; but they were reconciled to the king by asking pardon for their impudence of the queen, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preserves the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

WHEN from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all these public and private differences, I found the affair was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic majesty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleasure ratified the plan concerted between his majesty and me, and that he had sent the count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the king my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I WROTE at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

BEAUMONT having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore

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fore received, signed, and accomplished, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgments to his Britannic majesty in a second letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents, we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of king James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured wherever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

Thus was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice, from the accession of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making those great armaments which she did this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish galleys, mann'd with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch vessels; which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours; she made herself mistress of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the port of Lisbon, for the embarkation of twenty thousand soldiers. This work was pursued with such indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

EVERY one talked his own way about the occasion of such formidable preparations: some said, that they were designed against Flanders, particularly Ostend; others, that they were destined for the conquest of Barbary, because the king of Cusco having promised the council of Madrid to assist that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a supply of men and money, which that prince kept to himself, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many persons were persuaded that Spain had a design upon France itself: the first notice his majesty received of it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it, but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewise

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likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested ; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking this prince too far.

IN reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the same time ; and his majesty took the side which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monsieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lesdiguières, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious and long war which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from France into Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited ; and Bar-

Emerick Gobier de Bar-
rault.

rault caused four thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-John-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low-Countries, notwithstanding this order.

THE long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out. He had sailed for the coast of Villa-Francha, as if with a design to take the three sons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain ; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the state *, the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably because he flattered himself, that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived ; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa-Francha : nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design, but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him those honours, nor

* The second of these princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbishop of Toledo and cardinal.

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esteeming him so highly as he thought he deserved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he should act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for staying longer at Nice, where, said these conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had discovered the reason of his departure, to be an order which they supposed he had received from Spain to go and join his squadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or possibly the council of Madrid had nothing else in view, but to accustom her neighbours to preparation and motions, for which they could not guess the cause. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of some time longer at Nice, they passed on the twentieth of June within view of Marseilles, without saluting the castle of If; their convoy consisted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

In the mean time, some other Spanish troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majesty was the more attentive to their motions, because he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the secret was discovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treasurer of France in Languedoc. These troops, as I was informed by his majesty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and passed the bridge of Grefin on the first of July; they consisted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Imgo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a small body of troops, with a view no doubt to hasten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the same month. The remainder of the Spanish troops that were drawn from Italy, consisted of four thousand Milanais, commanded by the count de Saint-George, who took the same rout.

NOTWITHSTANDING these supplies, by which the archdukes received a great accession of strength, yet Henry was still of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterprise upon Ostend this year; they themselves seemed to think that time alone could bring it about, their forces being considerably diminished. The thousand horse that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by desertion to less than five hundred, and those that remained were so great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be soon obliged to

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disband them. Such was the situation of the United-Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewise another advantage over their enemies; a small number of Dutch vessels who were going to load spices, meeting with fourteen Portuguese galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chase, took five, in which they found great riches, and dispersed the rest.

EUROPE, during the course of this year, had not more tranquillity in the east, than the west. Mahomet the third, to secure himself as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the recesses of the seraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abused her authority: and was first informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that shewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the sultana-mother, and the banishment of this sultana herself, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own son, and the sultana his wife to death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

BUT it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and came to Paris, to attend my usual employments: these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in office, bring in exact accounts; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne; to make a provision of sums necessary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those that resided in foreign courts for this purpose; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and economy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his majesty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the state, at the head of which his majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged: the fewer allies we had in Italy, the more necessary the king thought it to footh and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian residents at Paris; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the suit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly exposed to view, and served for a monument to posterity, of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new economy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the king drew from different places, and lessened the presents his majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods to supply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of satisfying them, consented so much the more willingly as it cost him nothing; this was to prevail on his majesty to pass innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, exclusively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promised profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among those who thought they had a right to some favour from the king; interest gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately swarmed with those petty monopolies, which, though singly of little consequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the least obstruction produces mischief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earnest remonstrances to the king on this subject, and therefore made no scruple to expose myself to the anger of the count of Soissons, with whom, as I have already said, I could never live three months together without a quarrel. 1603.

THE count of Soissons presented a petition to the king at Fontainebleau, in which he proposed that a grant should be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported; a design that must certainly have been suggested to him by some of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himself; nor did he know all the consequences of it, at least he assured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thirty thousand livres a year; and so well persuaded him of the truth of what he had asserted, that his majesty, who thought himself obliged to bestow a gratification of this value upon him, and being likewise vanquished by repeated importunities, granted his request, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther solicitations about it, caused an edict to be expediated for the count, which he signed, and the seal was placed to it; but some remains of a scruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully sensible of, made him, in granting this favour, reserve a verbal condition, that it should not exceed fifty thousand livres, press too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burden upon trade.

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THAT very evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have some suspicion that he was imposed upon: he wrote to me instantly, and proposed the thing to me as an indifferent question, without telling me what had passed, or naming any person. I knew not what to think of such a demand, but set myself to work, and, taking to my assistance the accounts of the customs and domain, and entries of provisions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be less than three hundred thousand crowns; and I could not but think it still of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it seemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majesty. The king confessed to me all that had happened, with many marks of astonishment that his confidence had been thus abused. The true remedy had been to have caused the edict to be brought back, and have entirely suppressed it, as being obtained by a false pretence: but, that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soissons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majesty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourse to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from registering the edict. All that was necessary for this purpose, was to send no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine: this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the sovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not register any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majesty so, that this expedient would not preserve me from the resentment of the count, and of the marchioness of Verneuil, who I discovered was concerned in this business; but I resolved to hold firm against the count, provided his majesty would be proof likewise to the solicitations of his mistress, which he promised me, and added, that he would openly support me.

Two or three days after my return at Paris, the count of Soissons came to my house, and paid me many compliments, having, as he said, occasion for a *Maximilian de Bethune* at full length: he thought by shewing me great kindness, and condescending to be familiar with me, he should easily obtain my signature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpose he demanded it. I answered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never signed any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he must have recourse

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recourse to other means; he acquainted me with what his majesty had lately done for him, and said, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the sovereign courts, and me, the signature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

AT this declaration, I assumed an air still more serious, and pretended to be greatly surpris'd that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom resolutions of such consequence were always made known; and from thence took occasion to tell the count, that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that therefore he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design, and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his shut teeth concerning our former quarrels, and went to discharge his choler at the house of the marchioness de Verneuil.

THIS lady, although as much enraged with me as the count of Soissons, was yet come to make me a visit, just as I was coming out of my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon the king, in favour of the people who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty business, madam," answered I in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really was, "you are not the last among those that are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and read to her all the names, with the titles of the edicts. "And what do you intend to do with this?" said she. "I intend, answered I, to make some remonstrances to the king upon it." "Truly," replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen, "he will have little to do to take your advice, and offend so many great people. And on whom, pray, would

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"would you have the king confer favours, if not on those who are mentioned in this writing, his cousins, friends, and mistrefs?" "What you say, Madam, replied I, would be reasonable enough, if his majesty took the money all out of his own purse; but to make a new levy upon the merchants, artists, labourers, and countrymen, it will never do; it is by them that the king and all of us are supported, and 'tis enough that they provide for a master, without having so many cousins, friends, and mistresses to maintain."

MADAM de Verneuil lost none of my words, she dwelt particularly upon the last; and, in the rage with which she was transported, made use of them to form a thousand wicked slanders. She flew immediately to the count of Soissons, and told him, that I had said the king had but too many relations, and that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage, went the next morning and demanded a conference with the king; after a long enumeration of his services, he told him, that I had so outrageously injured his honour, that he must absolutely have my life, unless his majesty would himself do him justice. Henry, seeing him in such violent emotion, asked him, with great composure, what I had done or said, and whether the affront he had received was directly from me, or had been related to him by another person. The count, not caring to enter into any explanation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty's presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he had said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie. "If that was the case, cousin," said the king, in a voice such as must naturally put him into confusion, "you would not be like one in your family; for we always produce your elder brother, in particular, as remarkable for this: but since it was a report made to you, tell me who made it, and what he said, and then I shall know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to satisfy you, if you are to be satisfied with reason." The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, cousin," answered the king, you excuse yourself from answering my question, on account of an oath you have taken to the contrary; and I likewise will take an oath to believe no more of your complaint, than what monsieur de Rosny himself shall acknowledge to me; for I have

"have as good an opinion of his veracity, as you can possibly have, of those who tell you these fine tales."

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THE count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet and La Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioness de Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" said the king, when these words were repeated to him, "we need not doubt any longer from whence this mischief proceeds, since Madam de Verneuil is named, for she is so full of malice, and has such a ready invention, that to the last word of monsieur de Rosny's she would add a hundred, nay a thousand; but for all that, this affair must not be neglected." The rage in which his majesty had seen the count, gave him reason to apprehend that he would take some violent resolution against me; he therefore sent La Varenne to tell me, that I should never stir out of my house without being well attended, and that he desired I should spare nothing for my security; adding, with great goodness, that all the expence I could be at in guarding myself, would be far below what it would cost him if he should lose me*.

I CANNOT quit the article of this new creation of edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council, much more antient, by which a tax of anchorage was ordered to be levied upon all foreign vessels that anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no more than what was paid by our vessels in foreign ports; nevertheless it was with regret, and only by his majesty's express orders, that I carried it into execution,

* L'Etoile's Journal treats at large of this difference, which the king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soissons to be contented with a letter of satisfaction which M. de Rosny wrote to him: and, according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soissons and the marquis de Rosny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, *ibid.* 592. De Thou also speaks of it, b. cxxix. The steadiness of M. de Rosny has procured him great commendations from our historians. "He had

"no consideration for any thing, says father Chalons, but the king's service; nor could any respect for persons of the greatest quality, princes, or even the queen herself, prevail on him to make the least concession, where he thought the king's interest or glory came in question: this got him many enemies, and was the cause that, after the king's death, the queen took the management of affairs out of his hands." Hist. de Fr. vol. III. p. 255.

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looking upon it to be one of those exactions which was most likely to depress the vigour of our trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made great opposition to the registering them, and the maréchal d'Ornano bestirred himself greatly, having money owing him from the state, which had been charged upon that part for his reimbursement. The establishment of commissioner-examiners, *lieutenants particuliers*, *assesseurs-criminels*, and other officers of justice, met with no less difficulty from the same court of Rouen, which more than any other opposed these new edicts; the last were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in consequence of these new regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs, that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Toulouse this year, which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debates ran contrary to him.

THE quarrel between the count of Soissons and me made a great noise; but the king, to shew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court. The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest: but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident; the rivers were so much swelled by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed *, the fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of his servants; the ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the passage more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages, I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed.

* I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king," adds he, laughing told M.

"de Rosny, that heaven and earth were
"combined against him, and that he ought
"boldly to take care of himself."

The waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

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HIS majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecoeur-Montmorency, who was accused of carrying on correspondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whose kinsman he was; and gave it to Bellefonds. From Caën the king passed through Rouen *, where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princess Catherine had proposed for the duke of Rohan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by monsieur and madam de Ferrières, for monsieur de Laval the son of that lady. His majesty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

THE affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewise a share † in it. He was not yet quite discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful, and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He published a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a most outrageous manner, against the whole body of the protestants: he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, and seconded it on his side by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneasiness and apprehension of the miseries which hung over the protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to

* "The king was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness, as to void blood, which the physicians said came from his having eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters." *L'Etoile an. 1603.*

† It is in vain to endeavour at any justification of the duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the count d'Auvergne, b. v.

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gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed persons that Bouillon always imposed; and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which Du-Plessis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

OF all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to the rekindling a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the protestants to insert amongst their articles of confession, that the Pope is the antichrist: surely it could not be called a spirit of religion, but rather of discord and intrigue, that presided at the decision of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewise proposed to send printed to all the universities of Europe. As soon as the king was informed of this scandalous proceeding, he sent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had resided since his return from Normandy, to put a stop to this licentiousness of the protestants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith * from being received. Villeroi likewise, by his commands, pressed me to exert myself on this occasion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain † and Desbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made use of to shew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they saw was resolved not to spare them, I know not, but the article in question was at length suppressed. The Pope, I believe, was under great apprehensions about it; for he was so extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majesty could appease him: and probably it was to this incident, that the jesuits owed their re-establishment in France. The holy father had the consolation to see his dominions filled with an accession of monks of every kind, Augustins reformed, Recolets, barefooted carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongst the other sex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and carmelites: so many religious orders were never instituted at one time as in this year.

* See the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find the steps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this absurd tenet.

† Deputies from the calvinist party to reside at court, according to the custom of that time.

THE boldness of the protestants, on this occasion, will not appear so surprising, if it be considered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another, when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Lefdiguieres, and Du-Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I must honestly own I lost my labour.

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WHILE these complaints of the protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpensier, cardinal Joyeuse, and the duke of Epemon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only with a bow. "We were talking, said the king, of the government of Poitou, and they have advised me to give it to you; could you have imagined this? they being such good catholics, and you such an obstinate huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that all his estates were situated in the provinces he was at present governor of, he released Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to resign this government to the king, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

HENRY likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than any other person, or those even that were so near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his ma-

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AFTER this, his majesty told me, that I might treat directly with messieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the state, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and praise of me; and I made my acknowledgement to all, either in words or gestures. I dispatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne, and he transacted the business with such prudence, that, by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, Du-Fresne sent

me, on the sixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres; namely, twelve thousand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendant of the fortifications, and of the works. 1603.

I MUST not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially silk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade with foreigners for this merchandise. For this purpose, all that is necessary, said they, is to give encouragement to silk weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silk-worms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I REMEMBER that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion, "I know not, what whim this is that you have taken in your head, to oppose a scheme so well calculated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to root out idleness from among the people, and which I should find so much satisfaction in completing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that, if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed himself

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THAT it was through a wise dispensation of providence, which designed that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be liged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other, that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France had the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, so universally abounded with whatever supplied the necessities, or contributed merely to the conveniences of life, to the rest of the world; her corn, grain, and pulse, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, salt, wool, oil, dying drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the score of any of these advantages, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

IT is certain that her climate refuses silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silk-worms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there can be any certainty of their coming to perfection; during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties, which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the success of which they do not render doubtful but impossible, a real loss to us? That is the question.

A COUNTRY life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work; therefore it is necessary to begin, by curing people of this lazy disposition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment? first, they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed: it has been a common observation, at all times and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous workmen: if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and force of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, makes it absolutely necessary to hinder from being depressed or degenerating.

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AT the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagancy, which is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery conceal the manners of weak women.

THE objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconvenience that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandises, they would be convinced, that the best thing

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thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of cloaths and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII.* That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort of stuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy; and the price that is set upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to consider, though but with the slightest attention, the source of what is called the fashion, we should find, to our shame and confusion, that a small number of persons, and those the most despicable of a great city, which incloses all sorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we should feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compassion we have for fools, that these very men dispose nevertheless of our purses, and keep us enslaved to their caprices.

BUT silk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with respect to diamonds, jewels, statues, and pictures, if it be considered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and silver: we must likewise take into consideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which these metals are made use of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the sums squandered foolishly in gardens, buildings, costly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages set up to

* Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the history of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times.—

“The next day, says the writer of the Memoirs, they waited on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; for Henriot having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raised him up; and having

“turned him round, the better to survey his old-fashioned dress, being a short holiday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket and the rest of his cloaths ornamented with silks of different kinds, in the manner they were formerly wore by merchants, he said to him, Honest friend, what reason can you and your company have to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not this damask, this taffety? &c. And after turning them into ridicule sent them away without giving them any other satisfaction; which made them say, as they were returning, The servant is ruder and haughtier than his master.” Vol. II. p. 278.

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auktion, what is there that wants not reformation? we cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the least necessity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endless digression: these two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parsimony, seem only to have been brought into the world, to destroy both the one and the other. These are the only people that know what it is to be rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be seen by the manner in which they spend it: the old chancellors, first presidents, counsellors of state, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles *.

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I SAID every thing I could think of on this subject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not

* Though silk, and other materials of luxury, are in strictness no otherwise good or bad, than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments: but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently; they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundancy of money, otherwise

an useless drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences arise from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, subordination, or a military spirit.

As to what relates to silk, should we even suppose with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silks at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufacturers of stuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to speak in praise of him. See on this article, l'Essay politique sur le commerce, chap. 9. p. 105, second edit. 1736.

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 "would rather chuse to fight the king of Spain in three pitched
 "battles, than engage all these people of the law, the offices, and the
 "city especially, their wives and daughters, whom you have brought
 "upon my back, with all your whimsical regulations." "Then it
 "is your pleasure, Sire, replied I, that I should speak to you no
 "more upon this subject: however, time and experience will convince
 "you, that France is not fitted for these gewgaws." I was obliged to
 content myself with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king, to
 alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole enclosure,
 for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I re-
 presented to him, that he would one day destroy what it would cost
 him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once,
 when he was laying with me the foundations of a design, far more
 noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building
 of a very different kind *. "As things shall fall out," replied Henry;
 and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who
 came to tell him, that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for
 him at his house, was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large
 sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so
 many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was
 commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and
 hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand
 crowns, a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot:
 I could not, though I risked the danger of losing his affection, be
 silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand
 livres to madam de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchase, at this
 price, that domestic quiet which was so often interrupted by his wife
 and his mistress: but fortunately for him, he escaped any broils this
 year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time
 believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards
 found to be a mistake; which the king did me the honour to inform
 me of.

* The building here meant, was in-
 tended to be a magnificent square, of
 seventy two fathom on every side, which
 was to be called the *square of France*;
 eight streets were to have opened into it,
 of eight toises in breadth, bearing the

names of so many provinces. The design
 for it was made in 1608, but the death
 of Henry IV. put a stop to the execu-
 tion of it: under the following reign it
 was executed in part, and was called the
royal square.

THE colony that was sent to Canada this year, was among the number of those things that had not my approbation: there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the sieur Du-Mont *. 1603.

* See in the Septenary, the description of a voyage made to Canada by the sieur Du-Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to *L'Esai politique sur le commerce*.

Liberty and protection, these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state, may, in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these *Memoirs* remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons, but to whole companies, acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget observing here,

that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies was established in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerard-le-Roy. The edict of its establishment, which bears date the 1st of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and sixth articles are something remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have so often since occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time: it was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more solid and durable basis. The history of this company, the many advantages whereof are at present more known than ever, would carry me too far; and moreover is to be found already in many good books.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XVII.

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I BEGAN this year, as I had done all the preceding ones, by the performance of a ceremony annexed to my employment, which was to present their majesties with two purses of silver medals. When I went to pay them the accustomed compliments on the first day of the new year, I came into their chamber so early in the morning that I found them still in bed. Besides the purse of silver, I had caused two purses of gold medals to be struck, which they received with great pleasure. Roquelaure, Frontenac, and La-Varenne, coming that moment into the room, the conversation turned entirely upon these medals, of which the emblem was an open granado, and the device alluded to an anecdote in ancient history concerning Darius * and Zophyrus. The king was the more pleased with the design, because he found it affect the malecontents of France in such a manner, as he had a few days before directed me to make it affect them. His majesty the next day made me a present of his picture, in a box ornamented with diamonds; and the queen sent my wife a diamond chain and bracelet of great value.

* As an explanation of these medals would be of little consequence, I forbear to give any; nor do I take any notice of them in the beginning of any other years.

Those who interest themselves in subjects of this nature, may see the series of these medals, vol. II. p. 6. of the Old Memoirs, where they are collected by the author.

THE death of the duchess of Bar, his majesty's only * sister, was the first interesting event to the court this year: Henry appeared greatly afflicted at it; he wore deep mourning, and not only ordered the whole court to do so likewise, but also the first gentlemen, and 1604.

* The suspicion some conceived of this princess having been poisoned, was entirely groundless: her death was attributed by others to the potions she took to make her pregnant: it rather seems to have been occasioned from her physicians having treated her as being with-child, tho' she was not. Andrew Du-Laurens, whom the king sent to her, was not mistaken in this respect, as the rest were; but the princess herself was so firmly persuaded of her being with-child, by the extreme desire she had to find it so, that she refused to take any of the medicines prescribed by that physician; imagining he wanted to save her life, at the expense of the child's she believed herself to have conceived; whereas she was not at all solicitous about the preservation of her own life, provided that of the supposed infant could be saved. She persisted in this notion and these sentiments till the last moment of her life, always crying out, "Save my child." Her body having been opened, it clearly appeared Du-Laurens had been extremely right in his judgment; that instead of a real pregnancy, her illness was occasioned by an inward tumour or swelling, which for want of an application of the proper remedies to disperse it, had brought on an inflammation.

This princess was a rare example of conjugal affection; whenever she saw or heard any new-married women spoken of, she used to make it her wish, that they might love their husbands as affectionately as the loved hers. She often repeated this verse of Propertius, changing the word *Venus* into *Deus*:

*Omnia amor magnus, sed aperto in conjugis
maior:*

Hanc Venus, ut vivat, ventilat ipsa facem. Her corpse was carried to Vendôme, and deposited by her mother's, queen Jane of Albret. The Pope had at length granted this dispensation, which had been so long

solicited, but the duchess died before it arrived in Lorrain.

Henry IV. took it much amiss, that the Pope's nuncio, instead of the compliments of condolence, which he received from all the princes in Europe on this death, only spoke to him of his holiness's fears for the salvation of that princess, who had died out of the bosom of the church; and answered him with some warmth and indignation, but very judiciously, that it was a notion inconsistent with the goodness of God, to suppose, that the moment when a person breathes his last was not sufficient for his mercy to open the gates of heaven to any sinner whatever; "I have not, added he, the least doubt of my sister's being favoured." De Thou, and Chronol. Septen. annō 1604.

What Amelot de la Houffay advances in his notes on cardinal D'Ossat's letters, that this princess had no more affection for her husband than he had for her, is contrary to the opinion of all other historians: there is more foundation for his notion, that the design of the journey the duke of Bar took to Rome, was less to solicit the dispensation for his marriage, than to oppose it; but that the Pope did not suffer himself to be so imposed on. The palace here spoken of is the palace of Soissons, formerly called, The queen's palace, because it had belonged to queen Catherine of Medicis, who left it by her will to her granddaughter, Christina of Lorrain; but by reason of queen Catherine's debts, it was sold in 1601, and bought by the duchess of Bar. It was sold again in 1604, for one hundred thousand livres, or thereabouts, to the count of Soissons, whose daughter, Mary of Bourbon, transferred it, as part of her portion, to prince Thomas Francis of Savoy-Carignan, grandfather of prince Eugene.

officers

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officers of his bed-chamber, the grand master, and officers of his wardrobe, the pages, and, in a word, all his household; the same regulation was observed in the queen's family.

THE duchess of Bar, before she left France, had contracted some debts in Paris, which were not yet paid. Without doubt, this princess had been prevented only by death from discharging them, since she had sent jewels from Lorraine to be pawned to her creditors, who had made a seizure of her houses, furniture, and other effects. Her houses were, a palace at Paris, a house at Fontainebleau, and another at Saint-Germain, which the king her brother had given her; and, among other furniture, there were pictures in her gallery, chamber, and closets, which were well worth keeping in the royal palaces, and which the king wished to have for that purpose; but they had made the duchess's debts so considerable, that he did not think it fit to desire them till they were all cleared. These debts amounted to twenty thousand livres.

I WAS afterwards commissioned by his majesty to take an inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to this princess: that which rendered this employment very difficult to execute, besides the different kinds of debts and effects, was the specifying of those that the king of France and the duke of Bar had a right to, and the claims they both made to the rings the princess had pawned in Paris, Madame de Pangeas gave us a very exact account of what rings and other jewels the princess was possessed of, either before or after her arrival in Lorraine, and of what her movables in France consisted; and the inventory was regulated by this writing. The whole was registered with great exactness, in the presence of two or three members of the council, named by his majesty, and the duke of Lorraine's commissioners; and this done, each of the two princes took possession of those effects that either belonged, or were to be returned to them. The duchess's palace at Paris was, by the king, destined to be sold, because part of the money for which it was first purchased was not yet paid; and the sum produced by this sale was sufficient to satisfy the first owner of it, and all the other creditors. The king gave the house of Fontainebleau to the queen, and that at Saint-Germain to the marchioness of Verneuil. But as this sale could not be made immediately, and the creditors demanding sureties, it was, by their consent, agreed between the two princes, that the jewels should be deposited in my hands, without any other security than my word: they remained there till the following year, when the queen having taken them, I was discharged by a writing,
dated

dated 28 June, 1605, and signed by Des-Marquets and Bontemps. I shall now proceed to the re-establishment of the Jesuits, which I have promised to give some account of. 1604.

NOTWITHSTANDING the arret that seemed to deprive them of all hopes of ever settling again in France, yet they had found means to engage the court in their interests, and to make, even in his majesty's council, such a great number of protectors, whose voices, joined to the earnest and almost continual solicitations of the Pope, the house of Lorraine, and many other persons both within and without the kingdom, so greatly strengthened their party, that it was not possible for Henry to resist any longer; and indeed it must be confessed, that he yielded without much reluctance. Some Jesuits who had gained access to his person on account of what had passed the preceding year during his journey to Metz, behaved with so much address, and made such advantage of that permission, that Henry began to see them with pleasure *, and even to admit them familiarly to his presence. Those who were thus sent to try their fortune, and who we may be assured had been chosen with all the discernment of a society that understood mankind perfectly well, were the fathers Ignatius, Mayus, Cotton, Armand, and Alexander; for father Gonthier did not yet shew himself; his turn of mind, which was rather ardent than complying, was not yet wanted.

WHEN the Jesuits were thus secure of great part of the court, and flattered themselves that their enemies in the council would be either the weakest party, or such as would not contradict a proposal they knew to be agreeable to the king, they presented a petition in form to his majesty; who having in effect taken a resolution very favourable for them, ordered the constable one day to assemble a council at his house, composed of the chancellor, messieurs de Chateau-neuf, Pont-

* The favourable reception the Jesuits met with at court and in Paris, was principally owing to their qualifications as preachers; those who are named here were excellent in that respect. We shall soon have occasion to speak of father Cotton. Father Laurent Mayus, or Mayo, was born in Provence; he was a man of great wit and conduct, and one of those who the most effectually assisted the Pope's nuncio in procuring the re-establishment of the

Jesuits. This Jesuit putting Henry IV. in mind of his promise to recall that order at a proper time, said to him, "Sire, your time is now come, it is nine months since you made this promise, and women are delivered at the end of nine months." "True, father Mayo, answered that prince, but don't you know kings go longer than women do." Chronol. Septen. anno 1603.

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arré, Villeroi, Maiffes, the president De Thou, Calignon, Jeannin, Sillery, De-Vic, and Caumartin; there to hear from La-Varenne, the most zealous solicitor the Jesuits had, the society's proposals, and what arguments they could offer to support them; to deliberate upon them; and to bring him an exact account of what passed*.

HIS majesty would have been very well satisfied to have had me of this council, and his reason for not naming me to the constable among the others, was (as he told Oserai, the first groom of his bed-chamber, who afterwards repeated it to me) because he believed this commission would not be agreeable to me. But Sillery here exerted all the arts of a courtier; he affected to his majesty so much surprize that this council should be held without me, accompanied with all those treacherous praises that envy and malice make use of on certain occasions, that he laid the prince under a necessity of telling him I should be there likewise. The views of this artful courtier were, to make me only answerable for all the inconveniences which they foresaw might equally attend a denial, or grant of the Jesuits request, for every one knew it was a ticklish affair. I guessed Sillery's motive for acting in this manner, and it was not long before my suspicions were fully confirmed.

† The parliament of Paris having been informed of the king's resolution touching the recal of the Jesuits, sent the first president de Harlay as their deputy to his majesty, to present their remonstrance against it. The president spoke to the king with great vehemence; the substance of his speech may be seen in De Thou, who after having related, as an eye witness, what passed on this occasion between the king and his parliament, complains of a writing which came abroad at that time, under the title of, The king's answer to the remonstrance of the parliament; and which is a continued series of reproaches from that prince to the first president, and of praises of the Jesuits: whereas the only answer the king made to the deputies of the parliament was, that he thanked them for the solicitude they discovered for the preservation of his life, and that he would take all necessary measures not to run himself into any dangers. The length and spirit of this writing testified in favour of M. De Thou;

but, on the other side, this answer of Henry IV. whether true or fictitious, is set forth in the 4th volume of Villeroi's State Memoirs, p. 400. and confirmed by Matthieu, that prince's historiographer, whom Henry IV. himself furnished with memoirs of his history, vol. II. book iii. On this authority, which is of great weight, father Daniel has cited it in his History of France, in folio, vol. III. p. 1939. These things would induce one to believe this was the real answer of Henry IV. at least in substance; and M. De Thou agrees, that after the king's answer, which contained an order to register his edict, the parliament having made a farther attempt to avoid registering it, his majesty sent for them a second time, and declared his will to them with authority, and even with anger; and afterwards sent Andrew Hurault de Maiffes, one of his secretaries of state, to the parliament, to cause his edict to be registered without any modification.

THE council being assembled, and myself present, as one of the members, the question was put to the vote; when Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sillery, directing their eyes to me, Sillery spoke for the others, and said, that these gentlemen, as well as himself, yielded to me the honour of deciding upon this question, as to one who was better acquainted with the affairs of state and the king's inclinations than any that were present. I was already not too well disposed towards Sillery, and this stroke put me quite out of humour with him: instead of a compliment, with which any other courtier would have paid his flattery, I answered to his meaning, and that without any disguise. I told him, that I saw no reason for altering a custom so generally received as that of voting according to rank, especially on a subject that my sentiments, whatever they were, would, on account of my religion, be suspected of partiality; unless it was with a design to give the world a disadvantageous interpretation of my words, as I knew many that were present expected to have an opportunity of doing; and had even done it beforehand, by groundless charges upon a point on which I had not yet declared my thoughts; and added, in plainer terms, that although I should vote first, yet I would not give the person that spoke to me so great an advantage as he seemed to hope for; but that I would do nothing till I had first consulted my oracle. And I was resolved to have a conference with his majesty, before any resolution was taken in the matter in debate. "I find then," said Sillery, smiling maliciously, and affecting ignorance of the meaning of my last words, "that we must wait for your opinion till you have taken a journey to the banks of the Seine, four leagues from hence." Ablon it was that he meant, the place where the protestants had their assemblies. "Monsieur, replied I, your enigma is not very obscure; however, I assure you, that as in religious matters, not men, but the words of God, are my oracles, so in affairs of state I am guided only by the voice and the will of the king; which I intend to be particularly informed of, before any thing be determined upon a business of this importance." Then addressing myself to the whole company, I told them, in a tone of voice somewhat raised, that great inconveniences must infallibly be the consequences of a precipitate resolution in this case.

AFTER this discourse, which might be taken for that act of deliberation I had just before declined, the constable taking advantage of the hint I had furnished him with, and pleased likewise with having an opportunity

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tunity to do me some service, for, ever since that he had received from me in the affair of marechal Biron, his former prejudice against me was changed into a sincere affection, said, that he was entirely of my opinion, as to the necessity there was of knowing the particular inclinations of his majesty, before any thing was resolved on ; and added, that it would not even be improper to desire him to be present at their debates, if it was only to put a stop to those little heats and animosities, that had already begun to appear in our first sitting. Villeroy, shewing an impatience to proceed, which surpris'd every one that knew his disposition, said, that since this affair could no otherways be terminated than by the re-establishment of the jesuits, it was needless to protract it any longer ; and, after giving all the weight he could to his holiness's interpolation, and answering for the faithful performance of the promises made by the society, he explained the motives of the king's conduct in this affair, who had not, he said, referred it to a council, the members of which were all named by himself, to be contradicted, but to avoid taking upon himself the annulling, by his authority, so solemn an arret of parliament as that against the jesuits ; and concluded, by complaisantly saying, that it was fit his majesty should be spared the disagreeable necessity of deciding solely this question. Villeroy certainly highly honoured us all by this speech ; and the council, no doubt, owed him great acknowledgments. De Thou ridiculed this opinion, as Villeroy had done ours ; he shook his head, and said, that, if his majesty's design had been such as Villeroy represented it to be, not to meddle in this affair, he would have referred it to the decision of the parliament, as likewise the examination of the jesuits proposals ; and hence taking occasion to give his own sentiments of the matter, he added, that if the king would avoid the blame he would incur by acting otherwise, and the danger that would result from it both to the state and his own person, this was the only part he could take, namely, to refer it to the parliament. Certainly this was not speaking like a courtier : but neither his advice nor that of Villeroy was followed. The rest of the counsellors declared, by a single word, that they thought it necessary his majesty should be applied to, before they proceeded any farther ; and this was the end of our first sitting.

THE next day I had a private conference with his majesty ; and the first thing I brought upon the carpet being the debates on the preceding evening, I perceived the king expected I should tell him my sentiments of them. I did not hesitate a moment as to the part I should take ; and truth obliges me to confess, it was not very favourable for
the

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the jesuits *. I told his majesty, that I could not possibly comprehend how, after an arret of parliament published by his order, and for a cause as necessary as just, he should suffer himself to be still prejudiced in favour of an order, from which both himself and the state had nothing but mischief to expect. Here I could not help bringing the king of England to his remembrance; and, having no intention to protract my discourse to any length, I contented myself with barely entreating him to dispense with my assisting at such hateful deliberations; or if not, to let me know his will precisely, and command me so absolutely to regulate my vote according to it, that I might find my excuse in the necessity of obeying him. "Well, said Henry, since we are alone, and you have leisure to discourse on this matter, tell me freely what it is you fear from the re-establishment of this society, and afterwards I will tell you what I hope from it, to the end that we may judge whose arguments have the most weight." I would still have excused myself from this task, saying, that it was absolutely needless, since his majesty had already taken his resolution. But he replied, that that should not hinder him from paying some regard to my reasons; and commanded me so positively to enter into this discussion, that I could no longer refuse to satisfy him.

THE public has no advantage to hope from the restoration of the jesuits in France †, which it may not promise itself from any other religious order; and for the exclusion of the jesuits there are particular reasons, arising from the inconveniencies which follow from their establishment in this kingdom. These reasons and inconveniencies

* It is said in the manuscript of the king's library, which we have quoted before, that messieurs de Sully, de Bouillon, de Maupeou, &c. did all they were able to divert the king from this resolution.

† The following discourse does not contain any thing more, nor is even so strong as the president de Harlay's, which we see in De Thou, nor than what all the writings at that time or since are filled with against the jesuits: I feel no less repugnance in transcribing it, than I have owned myself to be sensible of in the preface to this work. But the reader will easily observe here, that it has been endeavoured to impose mere conjectures on him as certain facts, and bare possibilities as avowed designs. Ten pages of vain declamation never will coun-

terbalance the least real fact ascertained in four words: and, to speak justly, M. de Sully does not prove any thing here, but his passion and animosity against the jesuits. It gives one horror to repeat, or even to think, of what he says of stabbing and poisoning, which could only come from the mouth of a calvinist, and an inveterate enemy; but it ought to surprise us the less in coming from M. de Rosny, who was under solemn engagements to the king of England to act and speak in that manner, whenever the recalling of the jesuits should come in question, for the interest of heresy, their common cause, of which he was as zealous an espouser, as the king of Great Britain a declared enemy of the church.

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are reducible to four heads, which are immediately seen to be of the last importance; religion, the conduct of government with respect to foreign nations, the interior government of the kingdom, and lastly the person of the king. Let us now speak of the first: the only sure foundation upon which the system of government, which the council will henceforth follow, can be supported, is union and peace between the two religions prevailing in France: the jesuits must be supposed, by those who favour them, to promote this peace and union; but in truth, this can be less expected from them than from any other men. Their first statute places them in such a blind subjection to their general, or rather to the Pope *, that, though as particular men they might have the most pure and pacific intention, they can move only by the will of these two superiors, of whom the Pope has a great deal of mischief in his power; and their general is always either a Spaniard

* It may be observed, in relation to the article in the institution of the jesuits, which enjoins a blind submission to their general, that by this submission or blind obedience is meant, first, the vow they enter into after a noviciat of nine years: now this vow is exactly in this, as in all other religious orders; its nature is perfectly the same, and nothing is required of the jesuits, but that submission and obedience, which the holy fathers of the church enjoined to the faithful, who particularly consecrated themselves to the service of God: besides, this obedience ought never to be blind, but in points of perfection and religious observance; it can never derogate from the laws of nature, nor those of divine, ecclesiastical, or civil institution, for the preservation of order in the government of nations.

By this submission or obedience is also meant, secondly, the fourth vow which the professed of that company make, and which is superadded by them to the three ordinary vows of the religious orders. Now this fourth vow imposes no other obligation on them, in regard to the sovereign Pontiff, but merely to obey him, when he shall command them to go on missions for the salvation of souls. This is the whole substance of it, notwithstanding what multitudes say of it, who continually represent this vow in the most odious light, and who from thence incessantly take occasion to

inveigh against the society: *Insuper promitto specialem obedientiam summo pontifici, circa missiones*: "Moreover, I promise a special "obedience to the sovereign Pontiff, in "relation to missions;" these are the express terms in which this vow is made. It contains four circumstances which comprehend the whole extent of it; which may be seen in the book of the institution of the Jesuits, or in the abridgment of it, printed at Brussels, in 1690, part 3. chap. 3. sect. 3. These circumstances are, first, the jesuits are forbid to solicit the Pope, either themselves, or by other persons, to be sent to one country rather than another; secondly, they must obey, whether they are sent amongst the Turks, or other infidels, or even to the Indies, whether they are appointed to labour in the conversion of heretics and schismatics, or in the perfection of the faithful; thirdly, they must set out immediately for the places of their destination, without any wilful excuse or delay; fourthly, they are not to demand any necessities or expences for their journey, but must be ready to go on foot or horseback, with money or without, as his holiness shall think proper, having regard only to God's service. Can a vow of this nature afford any manner of foundation for the injurious reflections that have for two centuries past, both in writing and by word of mouth, been cast on the society on this account?

born,

born, or a dependent upon Spain. Now it cannot be imagined, that the Pope, and the general of the jesuits, will ever contentedly see the protestant religion forming a distinct interest in France; it must therefore be, that the jesuits, filled with the notions of Rome, men likewise of dexterity and intelligence, and to complete their character jealous of the honour of their own party, will, by their confessions, their sermons, their books, and their conversation, keep up a perpetual schism among the people; whence will ensue discord and contention between the different members of the body politic, which will soon or late produce such another civil war, as that from which we are got free.

NOR are they less capable of disturbing our concord with foreign nations, which is the second reason for which good policy would oppose their revocation; the Pope either favouring Spain by inclination, or depending against his will upon that crown, particularly since the Spaniards last invading Italy; and the great view of Spain being the destruction of the French monarchy; when we consider that the jesuits are connected with both the Pope and the Spaniards, by principles, custom, and religion, what can be concluded, but that France will have in her bosom a body of men always ready to side with her enemies? Here religion comes again into the question: the scheme formed by Henry, for the glory and tranquillity of Europe in general, requires, that at some time he should send an army into Italy, capable of setting the Pope free, even without his own consent, from the shackles in which he is kept by the power of Spain; in this design the help of the protestants will be necessary, without which nothing can be done against the Spaniards: but the jesuits will never like a scheme of general policy, which will make the protestants important, and establish them in Europe.

RATHER than see the execution of such a design, and become enemies to Spain, as they must then do, they will endeavour to waste the forces of the king upon his subjects, which is the third reason against recalling them: and, what will produce almost as much disorder in the government of the kingdom, their access to the prince, and the influence which they will have over the exercise of his power, will enable them to commence another kind of war against the ministers, and men in office, under the suspicion that they have not the same designs with themselves. I reckon myself among those who will be first sacrificed to these new favourites. And to conclude, has not the king himself had a dreadful instance of their hatred, without giving them
new

1604. new opportunities of daggers and poisons? and does he not know the reasons for which the jesuits would have put another prince upon the throne of France in his place? such a one as they hoped to make more easily concur in their schemes, both general and particular. If he had any doubt of it, I offered to prove it evidently to him, by a paper sent me from Rome against the cardinal d'Ossat, of which I shall speak presently; and I then added a few reflections, with which that paper had supplied me.

THE king answered me, that he should like to see that paper, and ordered me to shew it him; but he remained invincible in his purpose, notwithstanding all the reasons that I could offer him. He told me, he had only two things to oppose to my discourse, which he found I had formed by long premeditation; the first was, that it was natural for the jesuits to be devoted to Spain, the only power which had courted and caressed them, when they were scorned or hated almost every where: that if they had found the same reception in France, or should now begin to find it, they would soon forget Spain*. For the truth of this, he quoted father Mayus, who had declared to him, as he told me, in the name of the whole society, their sincere attachment, and confirmed it with the strongest oaths, submitting that he and his associates should

* Without any design of speaking in favour of the French jesuits of that time, I would only observe, that Henry IV. formed a true judgment of the dispositions they have since manifested. The services France has received from them, have dissipated the reproach so often found in the mouths of all who then were enemies, that they endeavoured to exalt Spain on the ruins of the French monarchy: besides, the jesuits did not become engaged in the league from their connexions with foreign nations, but from the present situation of affairs of religion. If, from an error in judgment, in which they were authorised by the opinion of the Sorbonne, and most good Frenchmen, they conceived it expedient to strengthen themselves by a foreign support, it was not because they were enemies to the nation, their country, or the government, but because they apprehended such connexion necessary to promote the interests of religion; and because they, like many other catholics, blinded by an excess of zeal, er-

roneously imagined, that whatever was done in defence of the faith was justifiable: they however observed more decorum than many others; for none of them appeared in Paris at the time of the barricade; nor were any of them seen to join in the odd and ridiculous procession of 1590. Vide father Daniel's history of France, vol. III. It may be further observed, that the jesuits were persecuted in Spain, for being too zealous in the interest of France; at the same time, they were charged in France with being too closely engaged to Spain. No one, in fact, laboured so effectually to obtain the absolution of Henry IV. and his reconciliation with the Pope, as cardinal Tolet, a Spanish jesuit. This appears from the letters of cardinal D'Ossat, between the years 1595 and 1603. Hence arose the pique Spain, and Philip the second, had against the jesuits, and father Aquaviva their general, whom, for that reason, they were continually involving in troubles.

be considered as the most flagrant traitors, if his promises were not fulfilled.

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THE king added, that these oaths and promises perhaps would not so fully put me to silence, but that I might have something to reply; but that a sense of his own interest, and care for the preservation of his person*, determined him, he said, not only to receive the jesuits to mercy, but to treat them well; for if he once reduced them to despair, and deprived them of all hopes of returning to France, there was nothing which they would not attempt against him. His majesty then dilated at large upon the credit, the artifices, and the expedients of that society, by which he endeavoured to persuade me, as he appeared himself persuaded, that this society, to whatever distance it might be driven by banishment, would have a thousand means of practising on his life, and that he was desirous to set himself free from perpetual disquiets. He concluded with this expression of Cæsar †, That it was better to put one's self at once into the power of those that one suspects, than to be continually using precautions against them.

By these words, and the tone with which they were pronounced, I easily comprehended that his majesty had already resolved upon the re-establishment of the jesuits, and that nothing could dissuade him from it. Therefore, instead of opposing this resolution by new objections, many of which, and those very solid, I had still to offer; I told him, that since he seemed to make the safety of his person, and the happiness of his life, to depend upon the recalling this society, that was sufficient to make me labour for the success of the affair as zealously as La-Varenne himself could do; and that, when the council again assembled, he should have proofs of it. I saw joy sparkle in the eyes of this prince at my words; and that the sacrifice I made him might not go unrewarded, and that I might have no cause to apprehend the blame of what might happen should fall upon me, he promised me two things that instant, and gave me his royal word for the faithful performance of them. One was, that neither the jesuits, nor any other

* *Ventre-saint gris !*" said Henry IV. to those who endeavoured to dissuade him from recalling the jesuits, "will you be answerable for my person?" which words stopped every one's mouth. See the king's MSS. vol. 9033.

† *Insidias undique imminentes subire se-*

mel confestim satius esse, quam cavere semper, says Suetonius; which does not absolutely signify, that the most unexpected death is the best, as the text in the old memoirs expresses it, and which is more consistent with the context.

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person in the world, should prevail upon him to declare war against the protestants, unless I myself should advise him to it: the other, that nothing should be capable of making him remove from his person, a minister with whom, be his religion what it would, he was well satisfied; “and especially,” added he, with a most obliging familiarity, “a man of whom I can say, with the utmost sincerity, what you the other day told me Darius said of his Zopirus*.” He likewise assured me, that he would endeavour to make the jesuits entertain the same sentiments of me that he did; and that I should know, before much time was past, in what manner he expected they should behave towards me.

I AM not sure whether he did not exert himself on this occasion that very day; for I had a visit from La-Varenne the next morning, who desired as a favour, that a jesuit, who, he assured me, was still more a Frenchman by inclination, than birth, might be allowed to pay his respects to me. I answered La-Varenne, that he well knew every one was sure of a polite reception at my house, and ecclesiastics especially, who never perceived any more of my religion, than the obligation I thought it laid upon me to treat them with a distinguishing respect; and that, if this were not the case, the character he gave me of this jesuit was sufficient to insure his welcome. This French jesuit was father Cotton †, whom he brought with him the next day as I went into the

* Zopirus, a Persian satrape, having cut off his nose, ears, and lips, in order to execute a stratagem which put Darius in possession of the city of Babylon, that prince used to say, He would have given twenty Babylons for one Zopirus. Herodotus. b. v.

† Peter Cotton, born 1564 at Neronde, of one of the most distinguished families of Forez. Great changes ought to be made in the idea the author here and elsewhere endeavours to give us of him: he was a man endowed with great sense, an extraordinary eloquence, and all the necessary qualifications to make himself universally agreeable. “The king, says the *Chronologie Septennaire*, “conceived so great an affection for him from the first moment he saw him, that ever after he acquainted him with whatever he was going to undertake. He first preached at Fontainebleau, afterwards at Paris, where every better kind of parish was desirous of

“hearing him; and it is no wonder they “should, for he has so engaging a manner, “that one can never be weary of giving “the utmost attention to him.”

He narrowly escaped, about this time, being assassinated by the king’s pages, who wounded him in several places with a sword; as he was coming in a coach to the Louvre; because some of the lords of the court having complained to the king, that the pages seeing him pass by, had cried, *Old Wood, Old Cotton*, (one of the cries of Paris) his majesty had ordered some of them to be whipped for it: he would even have punished this attempt on his life with great severity, if father Cotton had not earnestly besought him to pardon them; they were therefore only drove from court. “The “king, says the same writer, on this account, increased the favours he conferred on the jesuits: he even wanted to “bestow a bishopric on father Cotton, who

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hall to give audiences as usual after dinner. The jesuit approached me with all imaginable demonstration of veneration and respect, and was lavish in his praises of my great capacity, my services, and likewise upon the protection which he said he had been assured I was disposed to grant his society, intermingled with the most profound bows, and repeated assurances of gratitude, devotion, and obedience. I was not deficient in a return of compliments and ceremony, being solicitous to omit nothing the person and present occasion required.

THE next day the council, still composed of the same members as before, assembled for the second time; and no affair was ever more quickly dispatched, without entering into any discussion, or making a needless display of arguments in favour of a question already decided. I said in brief, that the present conjuncture of the times required, that the jesuits should have a settlement in France. It was resolved, that they should take an oath to hold all the principles of true Frenchmen, and elect no one for a provincial *, who was not French by birth: this they swore to perform, and all the past was buried in oblivion.

“ by politically refusing to accept of this offer, did a signal service to the order of which he was a member.”

The author of the *Chronologie Septenaire*, had spoke more correctly, if he had said, father Cotton was strictly obliged to refuse the bishopric offered him by the king, and that he did, in reality, refuse it in consequence of this obligation; for the jesuits make an express vow not to accept of any ecclesiastical dignities; and they can have no dispensation from this vow, but from the Pope himself. Father Cotton, if we form our judgment of him from his life as wrote by father Orleans, was too religious a man to be influenced in his refusal of this offer, by any other motives than his principles of disinterestedness and modesty. Matthieu also speaks of father Cotton with great elogiums, vol. II. b. iii. Henry IV. in this year, made him his confessor, on the resignation of René Benoit, parish priest of Saint-Eustache: and he further insisted, that the office of superior of the college of Navarre, which had always, till that time, been joined to that of the king's confessor, should from henceforth be disunited from it.

* I do not find that, in the edict for restoring the jesuits, any mention is made of this election of a French provincial; if there is, it is only by implication. These are the conditions expressed in it; That the jesuits shall not found any college in France, without the king's permission; that all of them shall be Frenchmen born; and that no other shall be suffered in the kingdom; that one of them shall always reside near the king's person, to be answerable to him for the conduct of all the rest; that, on their entering into the society, they shall take certain oaths before the officials, that they shall not make any attempts on the king's person; that they shall not engage in any affairs to the prejudice of the state, &c. that they shall not do any thing to infringe the laws of the kingdom, the jurisdiction of bishops, or the rights of the clergy, the universities, &c. that they shall not preach or administer the sacraments in any diocese, without the consent of the bishop of such diocese; that whatever had been taken from them shall be restored, but that they shall not be permitted to make any new acquisitions, without the king's express approbation; nor shall they be suffered to claim

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All I have to add is, that during the whole time, I was extremely reserved, and acted with great circumspection, as well with regard to father Molina's opinion of grace, that was published this year, as upon some propositions of three jesuits, which occasioned high debates between those that favoured, and those that opposed them, especially these two; that the Pope's being the successor of Saint Peter was not a point of faith, and that confession might be made by letters. On this occasion, the jesuits were soon sensible how necessary the royal interposition in their favour was to them. Had they been given over to the parliament, the Sorbonne, the universities, and the most part of the bishops*, and the cities in the kingdom, their doctrine had not taken deep root: but the king did not abandon his new favourites; and even, at the solicitations of La-Varenne, gave them his castle of La-Fleche, where they soon founded a very fine college.

any share with their relations in the inheritance of the estates or effects of their families. The city of Lyons and La-Fleche were the only places where they were allowed new establishments; those of former foundation are enumerated in the edict, amounting in all to eleven, viz. Toulouse, Auch, Agen, Rhodés, Bourdeaux, Perigueux, Limoges, Tournon, Le-Puy-en-Velay, Aubenas, and Beziers. We will suffer M. De Thou to complain, that some of these conditions have since been annulled, but not from thence to claim a right of charging the jesuits with having failed in the observance of them.

As to the general of their order being a foreigner, which gives so great offence to M. de Sully, it could not be required of them, that they should never have any but a native of France; the choice of a general being made by different members of the society, deputed for that purpose, and chosen out of different nations; therefore, to have required this of them, would have been requiring an impossibility. As to the manner of this election, nothing is positively laid down, either by the laws or practice of the society; for every jesuit, who shall be deemed qualified for the office, whether a Frenchman, or of any other nation, is liable to be chosen, as the whole depends on an absolutely free choice. The only reason

why father d'Aubenton, a Frenchman, confessor to his catholic majesty, was not appointed the last general but one, was because the French jesuits themselves opposed his being chosen. Father Charles de Noyelle, on whom the office was conferred in 1685, was a gentleman of Artois, and a subject of France.

* The Septennary, on the contrary, informs us, that immediately after the restoration of the jesuits, they were invited by many cities, bishops, &c. to come to them. *ibid.* f. 438. "It was, says Matthieu, p. 606, "the general desire of all the catholics to see them restored, from the conviction their absence had given how necessary and advantageous their presence was for the instruction of youth, and the direction of men's consciences. "They afforded their enemies no advantage over them, either from their morals or actions, which were so conformable to their doctrines, that not one single discord broke the harmony between them, their hearts and their tongues "being in the same tone," &c. This writer had before spoken of them in the most advantageous terms, vol. II. b. ii. p. 270; and his evidence is rendered less liable to suspicion, by his having a personal difference with the society, as appears in the third book, p. 681.

THE restoration of the jesuits afforded matter for a real triumph to Villeroi, Jeannin, Du-Perron, and above all to D'Ossat, who had not neglected their interests at Rome, where he still resided to manage his majesty's affairs at that court. And here it seems proper to introduce that memorial, which was addressed to me from Italy against this ecclesiastic, and which, as has been observed, I had already mentioned to the king. 1604.

HIS majesty was then gone to Chantilly, to spend a few days there in the month of April, on account of the pure air, the agreeableness of the place, the conveniency for hunting, and other country amusements, which his physicians seemed to think necessary for his health. Upon some letters I wrote to him, in which I could not dispense with myself from observing that by his absence a great number of affairs were left undetermined, he returned immediately to Paris, notwithstanding all the entreaties of his physicians to prevent him. The same evening that he arrived, he remembered the memorial in question, and asked me for it, by which he only prevented me, it being my intention to shew it him that day. I had brought it with me, between my coat and waistcoat, and I left it with him that he might examine it at his leisure. I had made no alterations in it; and added nothing, except perhaps a few reflexions, which this paper had no great need of, to draw upon the person against whom it was wrote his majesty's utmost displeasure.

THE author of this memorial, who had his reasons for neither mentioning in it his own name, nor that of the person to whom it was addressed, endeavoured to prove, that D'Ossat had prevaricated in every point of his commission, and had accepted it with no other design, but to bring matters to that pass, that the king should be obliged to enter into the views of the catholic leaguers of his council, and to pursue a political plan very different from that they found he had hitherto conducted himself by. This new plan, which still breathed the spirit of the league that gave it birth, consisted in uniting France in interest and friendship with the Pope, Spain, the archdukes, and Savoy, against all the protestant powers of Europe in general, and the protestants of this kingdom in particular; to make Henry concur with the Pope in placing a catholic prince on the throne of Great Britain; no longer to protect the United-Provinces; to use his authority to procure a general submission to the council of Trent; in a word, to make him adopt all the

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Austrian schemes, and all the maxims of the other side of the Alps. The jesuits were to undertake the task of cementing this union, which was to be founded upon a marriage between the children of France and Spain, and the first effects of it the dethroning of king James *.

THE author of this memorial, to prove that he did not bring these heavy accusations against D'Ossat like a mere declaimer, justified the truth of them by that cardinal's own letters, as well those I have formerly mentioned, as others which he had collected, and by his common discourse at Rome, either in public, or to my brother, ambassador to that court, and others in private: he explained the mystery of those almost insurmountable obstacles the holy father made to the king's abdication, and the marriage of the princess his sister: he shewed that they proceeded from D'Ossat himself, who during the whole time that those affairs were depending, abused with impunity the confidence his master reposed in him; and, to prevent the reproaches he had reason to expect from him, gave him to understand, that he was under an absolute necessity of persuading the court of Rome, that his majesty was of the same opinion, and that it was with great difficulty he suppressed those reports which from time to time were spread to the contrary.

IT is certain, that throughout this whole affair D'Ossat acted with great art, as likewise in the insinuations he secretly gave the king, that Spain, with respect to him, had only the most pacific intentions, for which the Pope was ready to be security. All this is so clear, and supported by the author with such incontestable proofs, as forces belief, notwithstanding that spirit of hatred and fury, which it cannot be denied every part of this paper breathes against D'Ossat; he is also reproached in it with assuming the character of a great politician, and a consummate statesman, when he had so much reason to blush for his ignorance and incapacity; and that in this ecclesiastic nothing was to be found but the meanness of his original, having, before his advancement to the purple, been a pedagogue and a footman †, and owed all

* I have nothing to add to this article, but what has been said in the foregoing notes.

† The prejudice, the injustice, and the falshood, so apparent in this last place, totally destroy all the credit that might have been given to this memorial, pretended to

have come from Rome against cardinal D'Ossat. His gratitude in many places obliges him to speak of monsieur de Villeroi his protector, and to make an almost open profession of his attachment to him. What can be concluded from hence? certainly nothing in derogation of the qualities of

the several advantageous changes in his fortune to the fawning arts he practised on Villeroy, and to his slavishly serving the hatred of other catholic leaguers to the protestants. At the conclusion of this memorial, the author earnestly entreats the person into whose hands it should happen to fall, to shew it to his majesty. 1604.

SETTING aside all that this paper contains of the extravagant or outrageous, which shew it came from a declared enemy, it must still be confessed, that D'Offat could not escape the reproach of having slandered his sovereign, and being ungrateful to his benefactor; and that he even left to posterity the means of convicting him of those two crimes, in the letters which through vanity he caused to be printed, wherein he calumniated Henry IV. as a prince who oppressed the clergy, destroyed the nobility, ruined the third estate of the kingdom, and acted like the tyrant of his people.

NOR is truth less violated in those furious exclamations he makes against the protestants. What can one think of the epithets of impious, horrid, detestable, sacrilegious, with which he brands a body that makes profession to agree with him in the belief of all the fundamental articles of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and have the same veneration

his mind, and every thing in favour of the goodness of his heart. One cannot avoid observing, how palpably the author here abuses the liberty of thinking freely: he endeavours to extend it over matters of religion, almost the only ones which ought to be exempt from it; and seems desirous to exclude it from political affairs, which of all others ought to be most subject to debate; nothing being so uncertain, so much dependant on the caprice of fortune, or so liable to change as they. As to the private history of cardinal D'Offat, it must be allowed he was of the lowest extraction; some say he was the son of a quack doctor; others, a bastard son of the lord of Cassanabere; whilst others, with more probability, make him the son of a farrier, of the diocese of Auch. He was tutor to the young lord of Castelnau-Marnoac; afterwards he went to Rome, in the quality of secretary to Foix, and was there appointed secretary to cardinal Lewis d'Este, protector of the affairs of France at Rome. He

was then sent by his majesty to Florence; and at last went ambassador to Rome, Venice, &c. The bishopric of Rennes was conferred on him in 1596; and in 1600, that of Bayeux: M. de Rosny obtained Henry IV's permission for him to resign the last. He intended to pass the rest of his days at Rome; and actually died there on the 13th of March, 1604, a month after the death of the dukes of Bar, aged sixty-eight years. The last letter he wrote was to M. Villeroy, six days before his death.

See the other particulars of his life in Amelot de la Houffaye, prefixed to the edition of this cardinal's letters published by him: he has carefully avoided taking the part of the cardinal in the little differences which happened betwixt him and the duke of Sully; and he asserts, I don't know on what grounds, that the reason why that minister would not write to him, was, because he could not prevail on himself to give him the title of Monseigneur. Note on the 329th letter.

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As to his political errors, though in D'Offat they may well be imputed to views too narrow and confined, yet they are not the less palpable. At a time when the ambitious projects of the house of Austria were in a manner posted up throughout all Europe, he exposed France to the danger of being the first victim of them, by breaking off for ever with all her allies that were to support her against this proud and insolent monarchy. And what is still more surprising, this destructive policy communicated itself, as if by contagion, to the greatest part of those who were employed in the administration of public affairs: and what is yet more to be lamented, it gained ground upon the wisest as well as the smallest party †.

It was this policy that in the month of April this year exposed Villeroy to one of the greatest mortifications that could happen to a man in a public employment. The king, when he set out for Fontainebleau, where it was his custom to keep his Easter, during which there was a cessation of all business in the council, took leave of his coun-

* This reason of our author's is a very weak one; but every one knows that the professors of the new religion do not acknowledge the authority of the holy fathers, the councils, or any other sources of tradition or faith.

† This system of politics has not been productive of the mischiefs M. de Sully apprehended it would occasion; on the contrary, the event of it has been as favourable as it possibly could have been. It is nevertheless true, and will in some degree be a justification of our author's manner of reasoning on this occasion, that if the execution of these designs, of which the destruction of the protestant religion in France was the principal, had fallen into the hands of any other than cardinal de Richelieu, the success of it would not only have been doubtful; but if an attempt of so great consequence as this had by any means miscarried, France would, in all probability, have been replunged into the frightful situation she was in during the reign of the children of Henry II.

Cardinal de Richelieu did not, however, in every respect follow the plan attributed to D'Offat, Villeroy, &c. since during his whole life he was engaged in war with Spain. The perfect knowledge he had of the particular resources on which France could depend, and which, if we may judge from appearances, he had acquired principally from Sully's Memoirs, made him take in, and in some degree reconcile, both these opposite systems, by entering into the design of weakening the house of Austria, in pursuance of the one; and of destroying Calvinism in France, according to the other of them. I don't know of any one instance that so evidently proves as this does, what a single man is capable of. The protestants of France, who had obtained a toleration of themselves, after having remained undisturbed full thirty years, were, almost at once, brought into an entire subjection: this happened, because on the one side there was a cardinal de Richelieu, and on the other there was no longer a Henry of Navarre.

fellows

fellows till the Sunday after Easter; but on Good Friday he recalled me by a letter, in which he informed me, that he had discovered some treasonable practices in his court, and that he wanted to confer with me; for which purpose he would order post-horses to be ready for me at Ablon on Easter-Sunday, that I might set out for Fontainebleau when the communion was over. I did so, and this was the affair in question.

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VILLEROI had a clerk in his office named Nicolas L'Hote, whose family, Or, as others say, Du-Por-tail, from father to son, had been attached to that of Villeroi; but the person of whom we are now speaking, before he entered into his service, had been secretary to the count de La-Rochepot, when he was sent ambassador from France to Spain. L'Hote had wit, but of that sort that strongly inclines the owner to artifice and intrigue. During his stay in Spain he contracted an intimacy with the Spanish secretaries of state, Don Juan Idiaques, Francheses, and Prada, to whom he betrayed the secrets of the ambassador his master. When La-Rochepot returned to France, L'Hote finding himself without any employment, solicited Villeroi, whose godson he was, for a place in his office, and was by him entrusted to decypher his dispatches; which was very agreeable to L'Hote, as it afforded him an opportunity of carrying on his first trade with security.

BARRAULT *, who succeeded the count de La-Rochepot in Spain, perceived, a short time after, that the secrets of his prince were known to that court; and in vain tortured his imagination to discover from whence this misfortune proceeded. Not being able to fix upon any particular person, he entreated his majesty, in a short letter addressed to himself, to look upon all the clerks in his secretaries offices, especially those belonging to Villeroi, as suspected persons. This treachery extended its influence to all our other ambassadors to the several courts of Europe, who were extremely astonished, and complained to the king, as Barrault had done, that the contents of their dispatches were known at these courts as soon as they received them from France, and very often before.

* Emeric Gobier de Barrault. It is related of this ambassador, that being one day at a comedy in Spain, in which the battle of Pavia was represented, and seeing a Spanish actor throw him down who performed the character of Francis I. set his

foot on his throat, and, in the most outrageous terms, oblige him to ask quarter, he got upon the stage, and in sight of the whole house, ran the actor through the body with his sword. Amelot's notes on D'Ossat.

BUT

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BUT neither Barrault nor they could penetrate any farther into the affair, till Barrault was one day accosted by a Frenchman of Bourdeaux, a refugee in Spain, whose name was John de Leyré, but better known by that of Rafis, which he had borne when he was in the service of the league, having been one * of the most active of the incendiaries, and on that account not being able to get himself comprehended in the pardon, was obliged to fly into Spain, where his services, which consisted in revealing some advices he still received from his associates in France, were rewarded by a good pension that was allowed him by that court, and which was continued to him, till the council of Spain having procured by other means more certain intelligence than any they could get from Rafis, he soon perceived, by the contempt he was treated with at Madrid, and the discontinuance of his pension, that his credit was sunk all of a sudden; and changing his battery that instant, he applied himself with the utmost diligence to find out who was the traitor in France that had enriched himself with his spoils, not doubting but that if he should succeed, this discovery would purchase his recal to his own country, which he had always in his view, and probably procure him greater advantages than those he lost in Spain.

MEN educated in the arts of faction, and the mystery of intrigue, have talents for these sort of discoveries peculiar to themselves. Rafis got acquainted with another Frenchman, named John Blas, who had settled in Spain, and it was from him that he learned in what manner L'Hote had abused the confidence of his first master. Rafis, struck with this hint, fixed, as by instinct, on this man; and having procured from other persons information that he was actually one of Villeroi's secretaries, at that distance his sagacity alone discovered to him what so many others upon the very spot were ignorant of.

HIS suspicions being changed into a certainty, he went to Barrault, and offered to point out the traitor of whom he complained, but that care must be taken to prevent his having any suspicion that he was discovered, on condition, that if his informations were found to be true, the king would give him a free pardon in form, and a decent pension. Barrault thought the affair of such importance, that he made no scruple to promise both. Rafis likewise exacted a promise from Barrault, and this with a view to his own safety, that he should proceed slowly and

* L'Etoile says, he had been one of the sixteen.

cautiously in the affair; and that when he wrote to France upon the proposals that had been made to him, he should address himself to none but the king. But Barrault understood this last request as an excess of unnecessary caution, which did not exclude him from acquainting his majesty's chief ministers with the affair: and it was Villeroi himself that he informed of Rafis's offer and proposals. Villeroi, who did not imagine that the traitor was in his own office, sent the dispatches immediately to the king: but L'Hote being with his master when this packet from Barrault was opened, drove directly at his purpose; and reflecting upon the importance of the advice, acted in the very manner that Rafis had with so much reason been apprehensive he would do; for he wrote instantly to his correspondents in Spain, desiring them to take all the necessary measures, and that without delay, to prevent Rafis from discovering more. This was the best method he could think of to secure himself, and to prevent any bad consequences; and it would probably have succeeded, had the person concerned been any other than Rafis.

THIS man, when he received his pardon, which his majesty sent him, together with his answer to his proposals, observed that it was not signed by Lomenie, to whom the king would naturally have referred it, if it had not been offered him by another train of conveyance; and concluding from thence that it had passed Villeroi's office, he went directly to the ambassador, and complained that he had deceived him; and now thinking it no longer necessary to conceal any thing, he told him his reasons for pressing him to write only to the king, and to Villeroi less than any other person: he gave him, in a few words, all the informations he had promised him concerning L'Hote's intrigues; that done, he told Barrault, that to avoid, if it was still possible, the danger with which he was threatened at Madrid, he had nothing left for it but to endeavour to gain the French territories with the utmost expedition. And accordingly he mounted his horse that moment; and it was happy for him that he did so, for the next morning his house was invested by archers, who were sent after him with orders to make all possible haste, that they might come up with him before he reached the frontier: but Rafis, by good fortune, or rather by his own extreme diligence, escaped with Descartes, Barrault's secretary, whom this ambassador permitted to accompany him, to present him in France. They never rested till they found themselves at Bayonne, from whence continuing their rout without delay, they came to Paris, and hearing the king was at Fontainebleau, set out directly for that place.

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ON the road they met Villeroi, who was going from Fontainebleau to his house at Juvisy; and believing they ought not to conceal any thing from him, intreated him to have his clerk arrested by way of security; and that they might have the sole honour of the affair, offered to return themselves to Paris to arrest him. Villeroi neither approved of their proposal, nor the offer they made him of their persons; which, it must be confessed, was an instance of great imprudence; but he, doubtless, imagined, that it was not possible for L'Hote to escape. He told the two couriers, that this clerk was to come to him the next day, and that it would be then time enough for them to secure him; it being likewise his opinion, that his majesty ought first to be spoke to about it; and that they risked nothing by this delay, provided they kept a profound silence. Surprised and dissatisfied as they were at this proceeding, it was their business to obey; and they delivered the packets they were charged with, to him, to be given to his majesty, which he did the next day.

THE king had not yet received these packets on Easter-day when I came to Fontainebleau, nor by consequence knew of the two couriers arrival, or the name of him that betrayed him; the only certain intelligence he had was, the warning that had been given him to hold all the clerks of Villeroi suspected. As I did not reach Fontainebleau till it was very late, and was greatly fatigued with my journey, I did not wait on his majesty till the next morning. I found him up and dressed, though it was scarcely sun-rise. Barrault's informations had given him great uneasiness. This prince took my hand, and leading me into the gallery that joined to his apartment, conferred with me there a long time upon the news he had just received from his ambassador. The dispatches from London that had been lost coming into his mind, and all that I had said when I imputed this misfortune to Villeroi's people, which at that time he took for an effect of jealousy and hatred, now appeared to him so well founded, that he acknowledged to me he began to give credit to it, and to conceive very unfavourable thoughts of Villeroi. As he did not expect that Descartes and Rafis would arrive so soon, he ordered me to sift this matter to the bottom, and use my utmost endeavours to find out the truth.

HIS majesty and I had been three days employed in endeavouring to make discoveries, when Villeroi arrived with the packets before-mentioned. I was walking with the king in the long gallery of the garden

garden of Pines, and preparing to take leave of him for my return to Paris, at the very moment that Villeroi came up to us. His countenance expressed all that grief the consciousness of having such news to inform his majesty of must necessarily inspire; and I may venture to say, that for a man who had some cause to wish to humble a rival, or at least to rejoice in his humiliation, I sympathised truly with him in his affliction. While he read the papers, his majesty often looked at me, and pressed my hand several times. He did not give him time to read them out, but interrupting him at the name of L'Hote, "And "where is this L'Hote, your clerk?" said his majesty, with some emotion, "have you not caused him to be seized?" "I believe, sire," replied Villeroi, in great consternation, "that he is at my house, but he "is not yet arrested." "How!" returned Henry, in a rage, "you "believe he is in your house, and yet you have not ordered him to be "seized! *Pardieu!* this is great negligence indeed; how could you "trifle thus when you knew his treachery? this business must be attended to immediately: go back with all possible haste, and seize him yourself."

1604.
The gallery
of Ulysses.

VILLEROI departed in the utmost grief and confusion; and I did not delay a moment my return to Paris; when the next-day I received a letter from his majesty, who charged Descartes to tell me from him all that had passed. Since I find myself engaged to relate this affair, that I may avoid the reproach of having supported such accounts of it as have been given by the enemies of Villeroi, in what remains to be said I shall follow the detail he himself gives of it, in the apology for his conduct, which he thought it necessary to * make public. After having recounted, in a manner advantageous for himself, all that had passed from the moment wherein he spoke to the two couriers, to the time that he went to the king at Fontainebleau, he proceeds in the following manner.

THAT at his return to his house, he found the bishop of Chartres and some other persons of distinction, who waited for him, and detained him a long time in his closet, the subject of their conference being the settling some points relating to the approaching ceremony of

* See the original of this apology in Villeroi's Memoirs of state, pag. 522. it bears date the 3d of May. There can be no doubt of its containing a faithful relation of the sentiments and actions of this

minister, it being strictly conformable to the accounts given of it by M. De Thou, the Chronol. Septen. Matthieu, and all other historians of credit of that time.

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the order of the Garter. When Descartes came to his apartment, to acquaint him that L'Hote, with Deshots, were just arrived from Paris, his respect for his company hindered him from interrupting them. L'Hote, on his first entring the house, was saluted with the news of the arrival of the two couriers from Spain, yet preserved presence of mind enough to appear but little concerned at it; and pretending that he was hungry, and would go and eat a morsel in the kitchen, only passed through it telling the maitre d'hotel that he would go to a public house and refresh himself, and get his boots taken off, that he might be in a condition to appear before his master. Villeroi, after his company went away, asked where L'Hote was; and being informed that he was in the offices, as every body thought he was, he thought he could not do better than send a servant to tell the maitre d'hotel, that he should amuse L'Hote with some discourse, and not lose sight of him: he himself, in the mean time, went to Lomenie, to desire that he would lend him Du-Broc, lieutenant du prevôt, who he intended should arrest him. He brought back Lomenie with him, and they placed themselves at a window that looked into the court where the whole transaction was to pass. But these precautions were too late, L'Hote had already escaped.

THOSE who judge favourably enough of Villeroi to take the whole recital upon his word, will at least probably exclaim here against the dilatory manner in which this secretary of state executed those orders he had just received from the king's own mouth, and in a tone as absolute as it was pressing: he would be still more culpable, if a thousand circumstances of L'Hote's escape, made public by Descartes and Rafis, which were not mentioned in his apology, were true: however, it would be certainly great injustice to believe every thing that on this occasion was said against Villeroi*; his enemies had too good an opportunity afforded them to rail, not to take advantage of it; the protestants, especially, painted him in the blackest colours, not able to deny themselves the pleasure of being revenged on him, who had contributed more than any other to the king's change of religion. But, on the other side, it is not fit to hold him clear of any blame, as those that are devoted to him do, who insist, that his whole conduct in this affair

* De Thou remarks, that M. de Villeroi did not absolutely escape suspicion; but at the same time he says, that Henry IV. far from suffering himself to be influenced by it, endeavoured to comfort him under

his misfortune, book cxxxii. P. Matthieu likewise asserts, that Henry IV. was too well acquainted with the fidelity of this minister to conceive the least suspicion against him, vol. II, b. iii. p. 637.

was justifiable. All my friends did not scruple to say publicly, that, if such an accident had happened in my family, I should have been much more severely reflected upon. The foreign ambassadors residing in France, and even the Pope's nuncio, came to my house at Paris, and declared to me, that if, after such a discovery, their dispatches must still pass through Villeroi's hands, their masters would not venture to mention any thing of consequence in them. 1604.

As to the traitor, all that could be done was to send some archers after him, who pursued him so closely, that when he came to the side of the river Marne, with a Spaniard who accompanied him, and at a small distance from a ferry-boat, he could not hope to reach it before they came up with him, and saw no other way to avoid their pursuit, than to throw himself into the river, thinking to swim over it; but he was drowned in the attempt. The Spaniard chose rather to be taken; and he was brought back to Paris, with the body of L'Hôte, which was drawn out of the water. Villeroi seemed truly afflicted that they had not been able to seize his clerk alive: indeed he had reason to regret it; it was the only means he had left to stop the mouth of slander. He was the first to propose to me, in a letter he wrote to me about this affair, to have the carcase * treated with the utmost ignominy, and to punish the Spaniard in an exemplary manner.

ALL this could not appease the king. He knew not, for a long time after this adventure, in what light to behold Villeroi; and was three days in doubt whether it was not fit to banish him from his presence. But Villeroi threw himself at his majesty's feet, with so many marks of a profound sorrow, shed tears in such abundance, and made

* The surgeons who examined his corps, were unanimously of opinion, if we may give credit to L'Etoile, that he had not been drowned: and, as there was no more appearance of his having been stabbed or strangled, they concluded he had been smothered, and afterwards thrown into the river. The Septenaire takes no notice of this examination by the surgeons, but gives an ample detail of the particulars of L'Hôte's flight, and the manner in which he was found, which totally destroys the validity of the account given by L'Etoile, who, upon other occasions, has given sufficient proofs of his dislike to M. de Villeroi, and

yet could not avoid acknowledging, that Henry IV. did not treat M. de Villeroi with the more coldness on this account; "taking the trouble, says he, of going even to his house, to comfort him in his sorrow, not discovering the least signs of diffidence of him by reason of what had past, but seeming rather to put more trust in him than before. It was therefore said at court, that it was happy for him he had so good a master, since, in affairs of state of so much consequence, kings and princes usually expect matters should be answerable for the acts of their servants." Anno 1604, p. 24.

1604.

such deep protestations of his innocence, that Henry could not help believing him (though the world would never be persuaded, but that he only feigned to believe him) and with that goodness, so natural to him, granted the pardon he so vehemently implored.

MATTERS were in this state, when I returned to Fontainebleau, to inform his majesty what I was indispensably obliged to do, of the representations made me by the foreign ambassadors. It was resolved, that the cypher made use of by our ambassadors should be changed; and the king now thought only of taking advantage of this incident, to make Villeroi more exact (I repeat the king's own words) more cautious in the choice of his clerks, and less haughty than he had formerly been. His majesty concerted with me a letter, which he thought likely to produce this effect, because I was to make it public: this letter was brought to me at Paris by Perrotton from the king, as if to acquaint me with the indulgences he had thought fit to shew Villeroi. The contents were, that his majesty could not refuse a pardon to the tears and entreaties of this secretary; that I ought no longer to distrust him, since he did not; and that, in his present condition, charity required, that I should write to him a letter to give him comfort, and an assurance of my friendship; and this he entreated me to do.

I SECONDED the good intentions of his majesty without any reluctance, and, I may even say, with more sincerity than he required of me, except that I could not prevail upon myself to write to Villeroi, that I held him entirely disculpated. This I thought would appear a ridiculous piece of flattery: I said enough to afford him the means of persuading the public, by my letter, that I was convinced he was innocent of the capital crime of which he was accused. I gave him the hint of the declaration he published some days afterwards, and represented to him, that he ought to endeavour to shut the mouths of the protestants, to whose censure he had laid himself open, and that the only method he could use for that purpose, was to relax a little of that violence he had shewn against them, by seeking to inspire the catholics with more benevolent sentiments of them; and lastly, to appear publicly the promoter of that regulation I had so often proposed to him, to establish a perfect concord between these two bodies. If in this letter I added, that his absolute justification in the king's opinion depended upon his future behaviour, and if as to what had passed I produced the example of marechal Biron, it was only in obedience to the king's commands, who was willing to appear indulgent, but not weak.

VILLEROI,

1604.

VILLEROI, in his answer to my letter, thanked me for the advice I had given him, which he assured me he would exactly follow, and for my good offices, which he protested he would never forget. He confessed, that he ought not to have so blindly confided in a young man like L'Hote, and was candid enough to acknowledge, that although his conscience did not reproach him with the guilt of any crime against the king, yet the error he had fallen into was sufficient to cast a stain upon his reputation, which all the faithful services he was resolved to continue to render his majesty, during the remainder of his life, would never wipe off. In his defence he only said, that the great obligations L'Hote had received from him were what made it so difficult for him to believe he could fail in his duty. Villeroi seldom wrote to me without renewing the mention of his fault, his misfortune, and his innocence, and almost always the obligations he thought he owed to me on this occasion.

It appeared, that Barrault did not give credit to the injurious reports that were spread of Villeroi by his enemies, since he wrote to him, a short time afterwards, and gave him an account of a conversation between himself and Prada, of which L'Hote was the subject. Rafis had reason to be satisfied with the recompence that was made him; besides the sum of fifteen hundred and sixty livres, which he received from Barrault when he left Spain, a gratification of a thousand crowns was bestowed on him, and all the conditions agreed to by the ambassador were fulfilled. This did not hurt Barrault himself, being paid in the last quarter of his pension. Descartes represented to the king, that a man could not live in Spain but at great expence; and that, notwithstanding all my letters, his master had not been able to get any thing from that quarter.

THE paper upon religion, that has been mentioned before, consisted of some articles, which, if received by the catholics and protestants, appeared to me capable of uniting the two religions, by destroying that detestable prejudice which makes them load each other with the harsh accusations of heresy and treason, impiety and idolatry. This paper I had drawn up with the consent and approbation of his majesty; and I shewed it to him several times, in the presence of the bishop of Evreux, Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and father Cotton.

1604.

If the protestants do not believe all the catholics profess, it cannot at least be denied, that we believe nothing which they do not likewise; and that what we believe contains all that is essential in the christian religion, the Ten Commandments, the Apostles Creed, and the Lord's Prayer, being the great and general foundation * of our common faith. Here then let us stop, and consider the rest as so many dubious points, about which men may be left at full liberty to have different opinions. We are persuaded, that it is not only useless, but criminal, to search into the secrets of the Almighty; but, we not only search into his secrets, but set up ourselves as judges of them, when we charge one another as criminal for having different opinions, and different degrees of knowledge, with relation to speculative truth, though knowledge, in all its different degrees, is received from God. Let us leave to him alone the knowledge of his secrets, as well as the dispensations of his providence: let us allow to the sovereign magistrate, what the public good requires, the power of punishing those who violate the laws of charity in any society; for it belongs not to any human judicature to punish errors only cognizable by God. Let us consider this in another view; if our unhappiness be such, that the error is on our side, can the catholics imagine that they shall bring us into their notions by abuse and persecution? Compassion and tenderness are the only means that do any service to religion, and the only means that religion dictates: the zeal which is so much boasted, is only rage or obstinacy, disguised under a reputable appellation. This was the ground-work of my paper: nothing can be more plain or more true; but the power which men allow truth to have over them is very small; and what is generally called reason in religion, if examined well, is, in most men, nothing more than their own passion.

If to reconcile the two religions is morally impossible, it may, with equal certainty, be said to be politically impossible, since it cannot be done without the concurrence of the Pope, which cannot be expected, since it was not obtained in the pontificate of Clement VIII. who, of all the Popes that have for a long time sat in the see of Rome, was most free from party prejudices, and had more of that gentleness and compassion which the gospel prescribes to all its followers.

* I do not think it necessary, to lose any time in giving a serious answer to these arguments of our author. After having allowed him the character of an able politi-

cian, we may, without injustice, deny his qualifications as a profound divine. What he says here may be called treating religion politically.

THE holy father was at this time so old and infirm, that his death was hourly expected. The king thought it necessary to send the cardinals de Joyeuse, and de Sourdis to Rome, to manage the interests of the nation in the approaching conclave. His majesty, by the advice of cardinal Joyeuse, gave de Sourdis nine thousand livres for his equipage, and the expence of his journey, with a pension of two thousand four hundred crowns a year, during the time that he staid at Rome upon his affairs.

1604.

ONE of the last actions of Clement the eighth was the promotion of eighteen cardinals at one time, which made it generally believed that this Pope, finding himself near his end, was desirous of giving his nephew cardinal Aldobrandin a last proof of his affection, that, according to all appearances, would place him upon the pontifical throne; by the great number of dependents on his family that were introduced into the conclave, or, at least, that the papal dignity should be conferred on one under whom this cardinal might expect to govern. Two of these hats were to be given to France; and the choice of the two men, whom the king was to name to his holiness for this dignity, was the occasion of a strong intrigue at court, between the bishop of Evreux and Seraphin Olivary * on one side, and messieurs de Villars, archbishop of Vienne, and de Marquemont on the other. The two last were supported by the interest of Bellevre, Villeroy, Sillery, and all their friends; and I thought myself obliged to range myself on the side of Du-Perron; and Olivary, the one being my bishop and particular friend, and the other remarkably distinguished for his eminent piety. Notwithstanding all the intrigues of the opposite party, Du-Perron and Olivary were preferred; and the former, by my advice, wrote a letter of thanks to Villeroy, as if he had really solicited his advancement: such is the custom of courts.

THE pressing affairs that had obliged his majesty to leave Chantilly and at the beginning of spring, was the clearing and signing the common computations for the expence of his buildings, his hunting, his privy purse, as likewise of the fortifications, artillery, and roads. When the day was fixed for the transacting this business, his majesty, to shun that crowd of petitioners who waited only for an opportunity of seeing us together, sent the younger Lomenie to tell me that I need not come

* Seraphin Olivary Cazailla, an Italian by descent, but born at Lyons, patriarch of Alexandria. Jerom de Villars. Denis de

Marquemont, archbishop of Lyons: he afterwards was made a cardinal, and ambassador from France to Rome.

1604. to the Louvre, because he would be himself the next day at the Arsenal ; and accordingly he came so early in the morning, that many of the officers, concerned in the affairs that were to be settled, all of whom I had sent for, were not yet come. The number of these was far from being inconsiderable, governors of fortresses, engineers, intendants, and comptrollers of the buildings, the several persons belonging to the board of ordnance, overseers of bridges and causeys, and others.

HENRY had something of consequence to impart to me ; I judged so by that deep melancholy which, notwithstanding his endeavours to disguise, appeared in his countenance and language, and also because he led me into the great gallery of arms, the place where he generally communicated his secrets to me : and here the reader may expect to find one of those remarkable conversations that he has already met with in these Memoirs.

OUR discourse did not begin with the chief causes of his uneasiness : the heart, involved in its own vexation, has need, in the first instant, of the help of other objects to be disentangled, especially if with this vexation be mingled something of confusion. Therefore the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, with the rest of that cabal, were the subject he first led to ; these persons having lately through malice united themselves with the prince of Condé, the marchioness of Verneuil, and the family of d'Entragues ; and those from whom his majesty had received this information, offered to prove the truth of it by their own letters, and other undeniable testimonies.

HAVING desired this prince to allow me a whole day to consider what advice it was most proper to give him on occasion of this new intrigue, he changed the discourse to his excursion to Chantilly, his hunting ; and afterwards he gave me an account of his losses at play, the money he laid out in presents to his mistresses, and other superfluous expences, which were to have their place in the expence of the current year, as well as the money applied to the manufactures and other buildings, which altogether made up so considerable a sum, that Henry, who secretly reproached himself for these extravagancies, could think of no better expedient to prevent the confusion he expected my remonstrances would give him, than to add, before I had time to reply, that I might also place there a gratification of six thousand crowns, which he now granted me. This precaution could not hinder me from giving evident marks of my astonishment and grief at the increase

increase of such trifling expences. Henry again endeavoured to avoid coming to any explanation with me, by saying, that, after spending so great a part of his life in continual labours and fatigue, he had a right to allow himself now some indulgence in his pleasures. I answered the king with my accustomed sincerity and firmness, that what he said was indeed very reasonable and just, if, instead of those great projects he had communicated to me, and which by his orders I had imparted to the king of England, he had resolved to pass the rest of his life in the enervating pleasures of luxury; but that if he still retained any thoughts of pursuing his former schemes, he would deceive himself greatly if he supposed them compatible with such expensive amusements, and therefore he must determine his choice upon the one or the other. I stopped at these words; Henry having silently listened to me while I was speaking, like a man who was full of anxiety, and wholly absorbed in thought. But the present disposition of the heart, whatever that may be, always governs our first emotions, and in him that moment produced nothing but vexation and rage: yet he contented himself with telling me, that he perceived I had entertained very unfavourable thoughts of him, and commanded me, without troubling him any more, to carry the sums he had mentioned to account.

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STILL, however, I was not discouraged. I knew the heart of this prince as well as my own; I had always found him sensible to glory, and open to conviction, and I could not believe him changed in so short a time: instead therefore of having recourse to the ordinary palliatives, after telling him, that I saw plainly the freedom I had formerly used in my representations was now become displeasing to him, I again renewed the former subject, and talked to him of the measures he had already taken in Germany and Italy, to prepare the way for those glorious actions he one day intended to perform, and the success the persons he had employed there for that purpose had already found. I repeated, that it was useless to take all this trouble, if the money that should be destined for those great enterprises, was squandered away on unnecessary expences. I convinced him, by a very exact calculation, that he could not engage in the execution of these designs, without having before hand forty-five millions entire, that is, the revenue of two years, which it required the strictest economy to keep together; and that with this sum the war could not be supported more than three years, without anticipating the royal revenues, or burthening the people with extraordinary taxes. This the following calculation makes evident.

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THE maintainance of an army of fifty-thousand foot, which is the least that could be employed on this occasion, will cost nine hundred thousand livres a month, and nine millions a year, allowing only ten months to the year; six thousand horse, which is the number answerable to such a body of infantry, will require three hundred and forty thousand livres a month, that is, three millions four hundred thousand livres a year; a train of artillery of forty pieces of cannon, cannot well be supplied at a less expence than a hundred and fifty thousand livres a month, and fifteen hundred thousand a year. These three articles alone make up fourteen millions each year; and by consequence, near forty-two millions will be required for the three years together, on a supposition that the war will continue so long. The expence of making levies, of hiring carriages, of victual, and other things absolutely necessary at the beginning of a war, cannot be estimated at less than a hundred and fifty thousand livres; the waste of that victual, with other unforeseen expences in ammunition, must amount likewise to the same sum. The remainder of the forty-five millions, it may easily be imagined, will be consumed in extraordinary expences, too tedious, to insert here.

THE king still answered, that, before every thing could be in readiness for the execution of these schemes, so many obstacles would arise as to render all his endeavours useless: but while he spoke in this manner, I perceived that his anger was already wholly extinguished; and that he approved of all I had said to him. This he immediately after confessed, and, at the same time, declared, with a sincerity truly commendable in an absolute prince, that the obstacles he had raised, and the severe things he had said to me, proceeded only from the anxiety of a heart oppressed with a more cruel affliction than that he had at first complained of when he mentioned the traiterous cabal, and that his peace was wholly ruined by the behaviour of the queen, and the marchioness of Verneuil. These words, unhappily but too sincere, changed the subject of our conversation.

HENRY's passion for mademoiselle d'Entragues was one of those unhappy diseases of the mind, that, like a slow poison, preyed upon the principles of life; for the heart, attacked in its most sensible part, feels, indeed, the whole force of its misfortune, but, by a cruel fatality, has neither the power, nor the inclination to be freed from it. This prince suffered all the insolence, the caprices, and inequities

qualities * of temper, that a proud and ambitious woman is capable of shewing. The marchioness of Verneuil had wit enough to discover the power she had over the king; and this power she never exerted but to torment him. She talked to him continually of her scruples, and regretted the facility with which she had yielded to his desires; scruples which he repented with so much the more reason, as he was not ignorant that she forgot them entirely with persons of inferior rank. They now seldom met but to quarrel: Henry paid a high price for favours which were not endeared by that tender sympathy which forms the happiness of lovers, and which, to complete his misfortune, occasioned almost continual uneasiness between him and the queen his wife.

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THIS princess, on her side, who had from nature a temper too uncomplying, and from her country a strong propensity to jealousy, not being able to make her rival feel all the effects of her hatred, revenged herself upon her husband: and thus was this unhappy prince exposed to the fury of two women, who agreed in nothing but in separately conspiring to destroy his quiet. Whatever endeavours were used to produce a reconciliation between the king and his wife, were rendered ineffectual almost at the same moment: the queen began immediately to require a sacrifice that Henry could not make her; and his refusal, though softened with the grant of every other wish, affected her so sensibly, that she forgot all his compliances, and laboured herself to continue the cause of her own uneasiness, by depriving him, together with the privileges of a husband, of all that tenderness and regard that conciliates affection and fixes inclination.

SHE was soon informed, that the king had given mademoiselle d'Entragues a promise of marriage, the original of which, as I have

* He reproaches her on this account, in some of his letters, which have been preserved amongst the manuscripts in the king's library, and are of his own hand writing. He writes to his lady in these terms: "I perceive from your letter, that neither your eyes, nor your understanding are extremely clear, since you have taken what I wrote to you in a quite different sense from what I intended. An end must be put to these pertnesses, if you propose to keep the entire possession of my love; for neither as a king or a Gas-

con, can I submit to them: besides, those who love sincerely as I do, expect to be flattered, not scolded, &c. "You have promised me," says he in another letter, "to behave with more prudence, but you must be sensible, the style of your other letter could not but give me offence," &c. Amongst other original letters of Henry the Great, in possession of the present duke of Sully, there is one from this prince to his mistress. See the collection of the letters of Henry the Great, lately published.

formerly

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formerly mentioned, had been torn by me, but another had been drawn up by the king; and she never ceased tormenting him till he had promised to get from his mistress this paper, which all the ecclesiastics whom she consulted assured her was of no force. Henry, merely to oblige her, at length resolved to desire the marchioness to restore it; and he demanded it of her in a manner that shewed he would not be refused. He had just left her when he came to the Arsenal: the effort he had made upon himself to take this step, the little advantage he had drawn from it, and the offensive language with which his mistress had accompanied her refusal, had all together produced that deep affliction in which I saw him.

THE marchioness of Verneuil, upon the first intimation that it was expected she should resign the promise of marriage, threw herself into the most violent transport of rage imaginable, and told the king, insolently, that he might seek it elsewhere. Henry, that he might finish at once all the harsh things he had to say to her, began to reproach her with her connections with the count d'Auvergne her brother, and with the malcontents of the kingdom. She would not condescend to clear herself of this imputed crime, but assuming in her turn the language of reproach, she told him, that it was not possible to live any longer with him; that as he grew old he grew jealous and suspicious, and that she would with joy break off a correspondence for which she had been too ill rewarded to find any thing agreeable in it, and rendered her, she said, the object of the public hatred. She carried her insolence so far, as to speak of the queen in terms so contemptuous, that, if we may believe Henry, he was upon the point of striking her; and that he might not be forced to commit such an outrage to decency, he was obliged to quit her abruptly, but full of rage and vexation, which he was at no pains to conceal, swearing that he would make her restore the promise that had raised this storm.

AFTER giving me this account of the behaviour of his mistress, the remembrance of which renewed all his rage, he was forced to grant (and without his confession I should have much suspected it) that he would with difficulty bring himself to a resolution of keeping the oath he had made in the first sallies of his fury: and as it usual with lovers, who never have so strong an inclination to praise the object of their passion, as after they have said all the injurious things possible of them, Henry fell again upon the good qualities of his mistress, when out of those capricious humours, and when those sudden gusts of passion

sion had subsided. He praised, with a transport of delight, the charms of her conversation, her sprightly wit, her repartees so poignant, yet so full of delicacy and spirit; and here indeed he had some foundation for his praises. The queen's temper and manners were so different, that the contrast made him still more sensible of those charms in his mistress. "I find nothing of all this at home, said he to me, I receive
 "neither society, amusement, nor content from my wife; her conversation is unpleasing, her temper harsh, she never accommodates herself to my humour, nor shares in any of my cares; when I enter
 "her apartment, and offer to approach her with tenderness, or begin
 "to talk familiarly with her, she receives me with so cold and forbidding an air, that I quit her in disgust, and am obliged to seek consolation elsewhere. When my cousin Guise is at the Louvre, I have
 "recourse to her conversation to banish my uneasiness; yet she often
 "tells me plain truths, but it is with so good a grace that I cannot be
 "offended, and am forced to laugh with her." Such was the disposition of this prince; and probably the queen had only herself to blame, that she had not been able to draw him out of the snares of her rival, or to disengage him from every other intrigue of gallantry: at least, he appeared to me to be absolutely sincere, and to have the best intentions imaginable, when he pressed me, at the conclusion of this discourse, to use my utmost endeavours to prevail upon the queen, his wife, to alter her behaviour, and accommodate herself more to his humour.

I WAS about to answer, for this subject seemed not yet half discussed, when we were interrupted by messieurs De-Vic, de Trigny, de Pillés, de Fortria, and others, who entered that moment, and told his majesty, that the persons whom he had ordered to attend him had waited more than an hour, and that it was so late it would be impossible to do all the business that morning. The king, after recommending secrecy to me, followed them into the hall, and gave the rest of that day, and the two following, wholly to the affairs that had brought him to the Arsenal. The office of surveyor of the highways in Guienne was given, at my solicitation, to Biçose, who was then in his service. A

N. de Biçose,
 or Viloule,
 he was secretary of the
 finances.

THE king did not fail to take the first opportunity to renew the conversation that had been so unseasonably interrupted: he had a reconciliation with the queen so much at heart, that he wrote me billet after billet, enjoining me to undertake the task he had proposed to me.

I was

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I was sensible I run great hazards by obeying him: a too free and too ardent zeal on these occasions with persons of this rank often exposes the mediator to the resentment of one of the parties, and sometimes to that of both; besides, to speak candidly, this employment was less suitable to me than to any other person, these little broils being extremely disagreeable to my temper.

I THEREFORE resolved to omit no persuasions that I thought capable to make Henry himself take the only reasonable measures that were left him. I brought arguments, exhortations, examples, to prove that it depended upon himself to regain his quiet, and fix it upon solid foundations; and all that was necessary for this purpose, was to exert the master and the king, oblige the queen to keep her ill humours to herself and forbear her reproaches, and, above all, her complaints in public, which produced nothing but indecent reflections: and as to those who by their malicious informations embittered the mind of this princess, to punish them severely for the slightest word they dared to utter against him. I represented to this prince, that to secure his own peace and the happiness of his life, required only that he should exert a very small part of that courage and strength of mind he had shewn on occasions of a very different nature; that his reputation suffered from that tender fault in his constitution, almost incomprehensible in so great a prince. I told him, that a sovereign, without incurring the imputation of tyranny, and by the sole privilege of his high office, might exact from his subjects and family, as well for his own person as his state, that obedience so necessary to preserve a just subordination and secure respect; and that it was absolutely fit and just, that he should chastise such persons who made it their business to destroy his domestic quiet. To these arguments I added the strongest entreaties; I conjured Henry with lifted hands, and eyes swelling in tears, to employ his authority on this occasion: the condition I saw him in filled me with the deepest concern.

It is certain that this prince had no other part left him to take; and I could never comprehend why he appeared so strongly averse to it. He remembered the advice I had given him at Blois, which being so different from that I pressed him now to follow, gave him a kind of advantage over me: he seemed to be pleased with having an opportunity to tell me, that I perhaps was the true cause of all that had since happened. But there was nothing solid in this objection, if well examined; and when I dissuaded his majesty from having recourse to measures

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measures which might have produced dangerous consequences (this I cannot speak more clearly without betraying the secret I then vowed to keep) I had no intention to exclude him from taking such gentle and easy methods as would be justifiable in the father of a family to secure the tranquillity of his house. And Henry was reduced to the necessity of owning, that if I were well acquainted with his disposition, I would be convinced it was absolutely out of his power to act with rigor towards persons with whom he was accustomed to live in familiarity, and above all to his wife.

I HAD nothing left but to tell him, that then he must banish his mistress, and give his wife all the satisfaction she could require. But he prevented me, by saying, that he was ready, if it must be so, to remove all cause of complaint from the queen, provided he could be assured, that after making her such a sacrifice, he should find her such as he wished: but that he foresaw he should be plagued all the remainder of his life, because this princess was weak and obstinate enough to believe, that by acting in the manner she did, she only followed the dictates of reason; when, in effect, she was only governed by her passions. Henry, to convince me of the justness of this fear, entered into a long enumeration of the queen's faults, in which he but repeated to me what he had said before, upon the delight she took in contradicting and teasing him; he only added, that she had discovered the most violent hatred to all his natural children, although born before she came into France, which it was not probable she would ever remit; he dwelt upon the little sensibility she had shewn to his tenderness and regard for her, or gratitude for the extreme attention with which he prevented all the occasions she might have for money, although he was not ignorant that she never received any but to squander upon Leonora and her husband, and some others, who were continually filling her ears with malicious stories, and giving her bad advice: he took me to witness, that never queen of France had received so many and such considerable grants; and it is certain, that I had been the first to favour and solicit for them by my wife, and this I did with a view to peace, which is often purchased by these means, and always by the king's orders. By the rage this prince expressed against Conchini and his wife, whom he considered as the creatures of Spain, and spies of the duke of Florence, no one, doubtless, would have chosen to be in the place of these two Italians; but this rage had no other consequences than making him condemn himself for not following the advice I was free

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enough to give him when the queen came into France, which was, to forbid all her Italian attendants to pass the Alps with her.

THIS long conversation concluded with the same request as the preceding one had done, that I should attempt, by the gentlest methods I could think of, to persuade the queen to more condescension to her husband's will, without giving her cause to suspect that I acted by his orders. Henry used every argument which he thought likely to have any force with me to engage me to undertake this task, telling me he did not doubt my success, having, on an occasion similar to this, prevailed upon the queen to write a letter to him, when no one else could.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XVIII.

AT the very time that the king gave me this commission to the queen, chance offered me a very favourable opportunity to execute it. 1604. } The most common method of making grants to this princess, was either to create edicts in her favour, as those which I have just mentioned, or by granting to her the money paid upon contracts and bargains which succeeded through her interest and protection. These edicts and contracts always passed through my hands before they took effect; and it was my business to name, examine, and authorize the persons concerned.

THE queen was offered four and twenty thousand livres, to procure the grant of an edict concerning the officers of the excise in Languedoc*. She sent d'Argouges to shew me the edict, and acquaint me with the proposal. I told d'Argouges, that his majesty might indeed, without doing the public any injustice, grant the favour the queen required, but that I did not think she took a good opportunity to obtain it; the

* Florent d'Argouges, treasurer of the queen's household: his son was first president of the parliament of Brittany, and at

the time of his death, a counsellor of state, and of the privy council.

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king appearing to me so discontented with some late proceedings of this princefs, that I was afraid he would not have this complaisance for her, unless ſhe firſt endeavoured to remove his diſpleaſure; and I took the liberty to offer her my advice and ſervices on this occaſion, if ſhe thought I could be of any uſe to her. The queen, tempted by a ſum ſo conſiderable, accepted my offer, and promiſed every thing, believing that, by writing a ſubmiſſive letter to the king, as ſhe had done before, ſhe ſhould certainly ſucceed: accordingly ſhe wrote a letter, and ſent for me to ſhew it me, appearing willing to alter whatever I judged improper in it.

NEVER had any ſtep ſhe had taken coſt her ſo much. She had ſo great an averſion for the marchioneſs of Verneuil, that ſhe would hardly deign to pronounce her name: but if any circumſtance occurred to introduce the mention of her, her geſtures, her emotions, her very ſilence itſelf, expreſſed, in the moſt lively manner, what ſhe would not ſay. As it was abſolutely neceſſary to accuſtom her to hear her rival ſpoken of, I put her upon this ſubject without reſerve; and then ſhe conſoled herſelf with giving the marchioneſs the moſt ſevere epithets her imagination could furniſh her with; ſhe ſaid ſhe never could reſolve to look favourably upon a woman who had dared to bring herſelf in compariſon with her; and inculcated the ſame inſolence and want of reſpect for her in her children, who embroiled the ſtate by countenancing the malecontents, while the king, blinded by his paſſion, took no care to reſtrain her.

I BEGAN by ſympathiſing with her in her griefs; but ſhewing her how much the cauſe of them was increaſed by her behaviour to the king, I made her ſo fully ſenſible of her fault, that ſhe wrote another letter in the terms I dictated to her, and ſent it to the king, who had left her at Fontainebleau, and was then at Paris. While he was under the impreſſion of the joy this letter gave him, he returned her an answer ſo tender and polite, as it might naturally be expected would produce one from the queen in the ſame ſtrain: but unfortunately, juſt before this letter was delivered to her, her emiſſaries had informed her, that the king was gone as uſual to the marchioneſs de Verneuil, and inſinuated that he was diverting himſelf with his miſtreſs at her credulity. She now forgot all that ſhe had promiſed, ſaid the king had deceived her; and, inſtead of writing, told the meſſenger that brought her his majeſty's letter, with a cold and contemptuous air, that ſhe need not write, ſince ſhe expected to ſee the king the next day, as he had promiſed

mised her. The king was piqued, as it was natural he should be, at this behaviour, and could not be silent : those that heard what he said in the first emotions of his anger, were not persons that he could expect would be secret as I was, to whom he wrote directly. All that was said on both sides was reported to each of them, and matters were now in a worse state than before.

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I WAS now engaged in a new affair, that of settling the debate ; but at most I could expect only an interval of peace, that would continue no longer than others had done, while his majesty could not prevail upon himself to take the only effectual methods that remained. These proposals I again made him, when he sent La-Varenne for me one day, to find, if possible, some remedy for his continual disquiets, which became every day more insupportable. I found him in the Orangerie of the Tuileries, which a shower of rain had obliged him to enter ; and as he was repeatedly pressing me to tell him what he should do, and, upon my refusal, absolutely commanded me to give him my advice, " Then oblige four or five persons, said I to him, to pass the sea, and " as many others the Alps." The king answered, that half of my counsel he could follow without any difficulty, since nothing hindered him from exercising some severity upon those seditious persons that were conspiring against him in his court, but that it was not the same with the Italians ; because that he not only had every thing to apprehend from that vindictive people, but likewise by removing her favourites, he should give such offence to the queen, as would render her for ever implacable. The king, after reflecting a little upon the proposal I had made him, fell upon a very singular expedient, which was, to get this princess herself to consent to what I had advised. He stopped there, as if the thing had really been possible, and insisted upon my using all my endeavours to work this miracle, promising me, that if I succeeded, he would, from that moment, renounce all his gallantries. After the king had given me this new commission, he left me, as he said, to meditate upon it, and continued his walk alone in the garden, the rain having ceased during our conversation.

I DID not begin with the queen, by asking immediately a sacrifice which I saw she was not disposed to make ; I believed, that if ever a favourable opportunity offered to prevail upon her, it would be when there was a perfect agreement between their majesties ; and this I laboured with so much assiduity to produce, that at length I reconciled them more thoroughly than they had ever been before ; they agreed to forget

1604. forget all the past, and for the future to be deaf to all malicious informers. This calm lasted three weeks, and during that time the court was full of joy, and different amusements were thought of every day: but some new stratagems of the marchioness de Verneuil's having produced their ordinary effect, these good resolutions vanished again, and it became necessary, as a last resource, to attempt the expedient proposed by the king.

It may easily be imagined, in what manner the queen received a proposal to send away, in some sort shamefully, those persons of her household whom she loved the most. I expected she would refuse me, and I had no hopes but from my obstinacy in returning often to the charge: but this princess continued inflexible; and, to say the truth, Henry, on his side, so ill performed the promise he had given me, to reward this sacrifice by that of renouncing all other attachments but to his wife, that she drew from thence her best arguments for not yielding to mine.

WHAT I had foreseen, really happened; the queen, instigated by those whom I directly attacked, began to seek a quarrel even with me, and complained that I had not kept my word with her, as if it had been in my power to separate Henry from his mistress. But I did not fail to observe to her, that she performed her promise no better; and by that appearance of coldness and dislike, which, after so many relapses, the king looked upon as insurmountable, she was herself the cause of that evil she imputed to me. I proposed Madam de Guise to her as an example she should follow, if she ever hoped to fix the king's affection solely upon herself. She afterwards complained publicly, that I did not pay all the respect I ought to have done to her letters: this I was acquainted with by the wife of Conchini, who was less unreasonable and imprudent, than any other of her favourites, by whom she was absolutely governed: To this complaint I answered, that it was indeed true I did not always pay regard to letters which I saw written by the hand of any of her secretaries, because they were either dictated without her knowledge, by unjust solicitors who abused her name, or written with a view to draw her resentment upon me if I refused to comply with them; but as for those written with her own hand, I desired any one to accuse me with having neglected to answer them with the utmost deference and respect.

To say the truth, it was absolutely necessary that I should continually call to remembrance, as I did, the duty I owed to the wife of my king,
that

that I might not be carried by her unreasonable importunities to any failure of respect or obedience; for indeed there was no end of her demands: the expences of her household alone cost the king every year three hundred and forty-five thousand livres; all the gratifications, contracts, and edicts, that were made in her favour, were not sufficient to supply her other expences; the one day, in a fit of ill humour, pawned her rings and jewels, or rather those that belonged to the queens of France, and there was a necessity for drawing money from the exchequer to redeem them; the edict of exempts was passed in every parish for her advantage; some receivers of Roerue and Quercy being behind-hand in their payments, the money was applied to her uses; she took upon herself to pay the nuptial expences of Santi, her Italian gardener, and asked me for six hundred livres for that purpose: this was indeed but a trifling sum, but by such trifles as these one may judge of this princess's disposition with regard to œconomy. What could I do in this perplexing situation, since the inconvenience was equal, whether I granted all, or refused all, but to refuse whatever was really an encroachment upon justice, and a detriment to the public good, and in such demands as must indispensably be granted, and especially edicts, to prevent any oppression in levying the money? As to their majesties personal quarrels, it must be confessed, that in the king's conduct there were unaccountable weaknesses, and in the queen's inexcusable irregularities.

FROM the little success I had met with ever since I had first interposed in these domestic debates, I at length was fully convinced, that in these affairs such only as were interested should undertake to mediate between the parties: I therefore quietly slipped my neck out of the collar, and willingly left the field open to Sillery, whom the king likewise made use of on this occasion. He sometimes found that Sillery managed the two ladies better than I, which I had no difficulty to believe: this employment required complaisance and dissimulation; I could neither flatter the sentiments of others, nor disguise my own; and without this there was nothing to hope for, and every thing to fear: and here the resentment of a wife and a mistress both was to be dreaded, which made the danger so much the greater. By what has been related, my first observation has been fully made out; and the second, I may say, was no less verified by the event, since, if I had not been extremely cautious, I should have certainly been the victim of the lover and the mistress, and upon the following occasion.

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AT the time when the misunderstanding between Henry and the marchioness of Verneuil increased every day, I was desired by the king to make her very severe reproaches in his name. Instead of relenting, or confessing her fault, she assumed so haughty an air, and answered with so little respect, that this once I began to hope the affair would not end but in open rupture, which was what I most ardently desired: she not only refused to give his majesty the satisfaction he demanded of her, but appeared so fully determined to break off all commerce with the king, that she even went so far, as to solicit me in the most earnest manner imaginable, to prevail upon the king to consent to this resolution, as being equally necessary to the future happiness of them both; and desired, that as soon as I went home I would write a letter to the king, which had been concerted between us, in which she expressed herself in terms strong enough to make me conclude she acted sincerely. However, the knowledge I had of this woman's character was sufficient to give me apprehensions that she would disavow all that I should write to the king, and pretend that I had endeavoured, by underhand practices, to widen the breach between her and this prince: a conduct which, indulgent as he was, he would have never been able to pardon; for in affairs of love he carried his sensibility and delicacy very far. I therefore took the precaution to send this letter to the marchioness before it was given to the king, and at the same time desired she would read and examine it with attention, that she might be convinced I had said nothing in this letter (which was very long) more than she had dictated to me; and entreated her to let me know, whether I had not scrupulously observed the purport of her words. I recommended it in a particular manner to the bearer, to bring me back no verbal message, but to oblige this lady to write what she thought necessary to be altered in the letter, and all that she would have me add to it.

SHE had already relaxed much from the severity of her first resolution; my messenger perceived it, by her caviling at the terms, and appearing dissatisfied, though she did not give the least hint that the letter should be suppressed. My servant finding that she returned the letter, after all this vague declamation, without any positive answer, remembered the orders I had given him, and told her, that having a very indifferent memory, he entreated that she would write down what she had just said to him, that he might not incur any blame from his master for his having forgot, or imperfectly reported, any of her words.

She understood his meaning, but had gone too far to recede; she therefore took the pen, and wrote to me, that she approved of the whole letter, except one expression, which was sufficient, she said, to put the king into a violent passion. I had told the king in this letter, that the marchioness entreated him still to allow her the honour of seeing him sometimes, but to have no *private correspondence* with her; the last words she softened by adding, "*that might be prejudicial to him,*" which made no great difference. 1604.

I CAREFULLY deposited the marchioness's letter, and sent mine to the king, not without having some hopes, that pride, and affronted love, if not reason, would prevail upon him to concur in the resolution his mistress had taken, and that he would at length cease to be the slave of a woman. In effect, he read my letter twice over with all the indignation and rage which might naturally be expected, "How! said "he, does she desire our correspondence may be broke off? I desire it "more ardently than she does; she shall be taken in her own snares." The king uttered these words in a low voice, but my messenger heard them. He asked for paper and pens, and wrote a billet to me that instant, in which he promised, that on the Monday following the marchioness of Verneuil should receive a letter from his hand, which should prove that he still knew how to command his passions.

THIS billet of the king's was dated the 16th of April, but that of Monday never came; but on his arrival at Paris, he flew immediately to his mistress's house, flattering himself that he should at least overwhelm her with confusion, and force from her a thousand painful regrets. Far from it, it was himself that played this part; he disavowed all that his agents had done, he condemned himself; in a word, he threw himself upon the mercy of her that had just treated him with the utmost contempt. Then it was that I thought myself happy to be possessed of a letter from the marchioness that could restrain his resentment against me. She however imagined, that this letter could not hinder me from appearing, through her representations, as an incendiary and slanderer. I would not take upon me to answer for Henry's good opinion of me that moment; the letter I shewed him when he came to the arsenal undeceived him, but it could not open his eyes upon the arts of his unworthy mistress; he told me at parting, that he would chide her severely. I did not believe him; and indeed how could I after what had just happened?

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AFTER the reconciliation between the king and the queen, which was made, as has been seen, at the expence of the marchioness of Verneuil; this woman, who for the first time thought herself really abandoned, undertook to ruin this peace, and unhappily but too well accomplished her purpose. It is wonderful to think how many springs she put in motion to awaken the king's love for her, and excite his jealousy; even religion was profaned to serve her purpose; she would be a nun, and devote herself to perpetual confinement; she openly joined the party of the malecontent, she sought out all the young women to whom Henry had discovered any attachment, and prevailed upon them to forge such promises of marriage as that he had given to her; she made so insolent a use of that, as to pretend to derive from it a chimerical right to get the queen's marriage annulled; and, what is hardly to be credited, found ecclesiastics who countenanced her in these extravagances, and who were hardy enough to publish the banns of marriage which she boasted she would oblige the king to contract with her. At the same time a great number of letters and memoirs were distributed among the public, in which the ridiculous pretensions of this woman were supported *. Henry would have given any reward for a discovery of the authors of these writings, his whole court were employed to find them out, and myself among the rest.

I SHOULD never come to an end if I undertook to relate all the circumstances of this affair, which, trifling as the greater part of them are, brought a good deal of trouble upon some that had a share in it: but I am weary of displaying those little weaknesses in a prince, who, on other occasions, has afforded me so many opportunities of admiring the heroic firmness of his mind. This storm, which was occasioned by a mere love quarrel, ended, as usual with Henry, in an increase of tenderness for his unworthy mistress, which carried the misunderstanding between him and the queen to greater heights than ever †.

* See the cardinal D'Osat's complaints on this occasion against the courts of Spain and Savoy, and in particular against a capucin, called father Hillary, of Grenoble, who carried on a cabal at Rome in favour of the marchioness de Verneuil's party. Letters of the 22d February, and 15th October, 1601, and of the 1st April, 1602. The liberty of publishing satirical libels was

never so great as at that time.

† “ The duke of Sully has often told me (says the author of *L' Histoire de la Mere et du Fils*) that he never knew them be a week together without quarrelling. He also told me, that once the queen was so far transported with passion, that being near the king, and hastily lifting up her arm, he was so apprehensive

It was fixed, that by a most unaccountable contradiction in the nature of things, this prince should, throughout his whole life, seek his pleasures and gratifications at the expence of his quiet and his health. These two motives made me still interest myself in these unpleasing affairs; for I could not, without the most sensible affliction, see the health of a prince so dear to me declining every day. He had not indeed any illness this year that immediately threatened his life, but he never gave so much employment to the physicians, La Riviere and Du-Laurens; he was obliged to use bleeding often, and observe a strict regimen, to prevent the bad effects of a blood heavy and inflamed, which brought frequent indispositions upon him: rage, grief, and impatience, threw him into such an agitation, that one day, being violently offended at some late proceeding of the marchioness de Verneuil, the arm in which he had been bled the evening before, opened again, as he was sitting down to dinner. The queen accompanied him this year in his journey to Monceaux, whither he went to drink the waters of Pougues and Spa *, with the greater conveniency.

NOTHING would have been wanting to complete the unhappiness of these domestic quarrels, if queen Margaret had borne a part in them: this was the only misfortune that Henry escaped; and certainly this princess merited the highest encomiums for the sweetness of her temper, her resignation, and, above all, for her disinterestedness, in a situation that afforded her many arguments to urge a compliance with all she could desire; her demands were few, and for things not only necessary in themselves, but such as she had an incontestable right to, the fulfilling such engagements as had been made with her, and some exemptions for her borough of Usson; her chief solicitation was on account of succeeding to the possessions of her mother queen Catherine: this princess, by her contract of marriage with Henry II. was entitled to leave her effects, after the death of her sons, to her daughters, preferable to the natural children of her husband. Although this disposition was absolutely equitable, yet Charles of Valois, count of Auvergne †,

“ she was going to do something further,
 “ that he caught hold of her with less respect than he wished to have done, and
 “ so roughly, that she afterwards complained he had struck her, &c.” Vol. I. p. 8.

* The Spa-waters are in the bishopric of Liege.

† By virtue of a deed of gift, which Henry III. had made to him of these estates. In 1606 the parliament confirmed the will of Catherine of Medicis, and adjudged these estates to Margaret of Valois. Brantome, in vol. VII. of his Memoirs, p. 38, gives an enumeration of these estates, consisting of the earldoms of Auvergne, Lauragais,

pretended

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pretended a claim, to the prejudice of Margaret. She had not the principal writings that proved the legality of hers: but the king interposed his authority to make it be given her, and that she should obtain the justice that was due to her. Margaret, during her whole life, maintained the same rectitude of conduct; and from her behaviour it could never be discovered that she had once been the wife of the king. I should not confine my praises to what I have already said of her, were I not apprehensive of being accused of partiality; since the interest which this princess had always the goodness to take in my fortune is well known; her letters to me were such as one would write to a sincere and unalterable friend, "You are always (thus she expresses herself " in one of them) my resource, and, after God, my surest reliance."

BUT let us now pass to other cares and uneasinesses that the king suffered this year from a traiterous cabal, in which the marchioness de Verneuil will again have a place. Without repeating incessantly the names of the dukes of Bouillon, La-Tremouille, and de Rohan, the count d'Auvergne, d'Entragues, his wife, Du-Plessis, and the rest, it may be easily imagined that these are the persons I mean. The same spirit of sedition, by which they had acted in the intrigues they had set on foot with the protestant party in the synod of Gap, still directed their enterprises, and suggested to them innumerable stratagems, either to raise an insurrection among the king's subjects, or make him new enemies abroad. It is scarce credible how many slanderous lies were propagated of his majesty, how far they extended their influence, and how many plots were formed against the government by the authority of these leaders.

THE king, when he sent me to Paris, by d'Escures, some advices he had just received at Saint-Germain-en-laye, began in this manner: That although I had not already too favourable an opinion of this whole body, yet I should with difficulty believe what he had to write to me concerning it. Indeed I am obliged to confess, that the proceedings of the French protestants were such, as left them no reason to complain of any one but themselves, if they one day met with a severe punishment for them. They boasted almost openly, that they would

Leverous, Douzenac, Chouffac, Gorreges, Hondécourt, &c. the yearly revenue of which, according to his account, amounted to an hundred and twenty thousand livres; besides that princess's portion of more

than two hundred thousand crowns or ducats, "which, says he, would be worth "now more than four hundred thousand;" together with a great quantity of furniture, plate, precious stones, jewels, &c.

oblige

oblige his majesty, not only to receive the duke of Bouillon in his kingdom, but also to invest him with honours and offices worthy of a chief of the religion. Du-Plessis, the soul that animated this body, suggested only such thoughts; La Tremouille had prepared his creatures for undertaking all things, by persuading them, that they would very shortly behold a surprising revolution in France; the duke of Rohan, in the mean time, took upon himself to spread this report in foreign countries, and in England especially, by a trusty emissary named Durand, who used his utmost endeavours to draw off his Britannic majesty from Henry's party. This man, who at London assumed the title of M. de Haute-Fontaine, shewed himself so faithful and officious a servant, that the king, as well as every one else, was persuaded that he had exceeded his commission; for it was affirmed, that he had treated on conditions for the establishment of his master in England, where he wanted to get him naturalized: if this design was not Durand's alone, it could only be suggested by the duchess dowager of Rohan. It is also certain, that the duke of Rohan ordered Durand to present the king of England, in his name, with a horse of great price, which, in the present conjuncture, it was not justifiable for him to do, without Henry's consent.

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BUT it was more necessary to enter into a strict examination of the count of Auvergne's conduct, than any of the others; few persons were ignorant of his connexion with Spain. He was then in Auvergne, where he was not idle, either with respect to the common cause, or his own particular one; he had made use of the promise of marriage, given by Henry to * the marchioness de Verneuil his sister, to serve

* The historians give no clear account of the purport of the treaty entered into by the count of Auvergne with the Spanish council; but Amelot de La Houffaye will help us out on this occasion; and he is the more worthy of credit, as he assures us, that the count of Auvergne, and the marchioness of Verneuil, entrusted the original of this treaty to his grandfather on the mother's side, their near relation and intimate friend, called Antony-Eugene Chevillard, paymaster-general of the gendarmery of France. He further informs us, that Chevillard, being involved in the disgrace of the count of Auvergne, and sent to the Basile, he kept the original of the treaty so well concealed in the skirt of his

doublet, that no one discovered it; and, finding himself treated as a state criminal, he, by degrees, eat both the treaty, and the ratification of it by the court of Spain annexed to it, up in the soups and other victuals, which were brought to his table. The king of Spain thereby promised to assist the count of Auvergne with troops and money, to place his nephew Henry of Bourbon on the throne, who was the son of Henry IV. by the marchioness of Verneuil, and who, in that writing, is styled dauphin of France, and lawful heir to the crown. Art. Entragues-Balfac, Touchet. Amelot de la Houffaye further assures us, in the note on the cardinal D'Ossat's letters above mentioned, that two capuchins, his

1604. his designs, and joined to it, a claim of his own yet more ridiculous than this writing: but in Spain he found persons credulous enough to consider them both in a serious light: it is certain, that he had acquired great credit and strong influence there; we shall soon see to what it conducted him.

THE methods his majesty made use of to render all these intrigues ineffectual, were to apply himself with his accustomed attention and assiduity to the affairs both within and without his kingdom, and to fill the intendances and other public offices with such men only as were distinguished for their merit, their probity, and zeal for his service. Boucault was an example of this, who, from an advocate only, was made president of the court of aids in Montpellier, in reward for having usefully served his majesty in Languedoc. Henry likewise commanded me to assemble the chancellor, Villeroi, and Sillery, who with me composed a kind of council, to consider of this matter. By his orders, I still kept up a correspondence by letters with the principal protestants, which I own was of little service to his majesty: his chief dependance, and with reason, was upon the journey he proposed to make this year to Provence and Languedoc, while I on my side was to visit Poitou, and the western part of France.

I GREATLY approved of this design when Henry communicated it to me; and we employed ourselves together a long time in making preparations for these two journeys; the necessity for going to take possession of my government served me for a pretence for mine; the king wanted no excuse for his: on the contrary, it was fit he should not appear ignorant of the occasion that made his presence necessary in the southern provinces of his kingdom, and openly avow his expectations of the good effects it would produce. On some pretence or other, I was to visit, either in my rout, or by going a little about, Orleans, Touraine, Anjou, Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Guyenne; and his majesty was likewise to take Berry, Bourbonnois, Lyonnais,

called father Hillary of Grenoble, and father Archangelo, the one at Paris, and the other at Rome, had the guidance of this conspiracy.

M. de Sully seems to insinuate, as if something further had been intended in favour of the count of Auvergne himself: perhaps he had some design of setting up

some writing or disposition of his father Charles IX, by virtue whereof he might pretend to claim the crown in his own right. See also, on this subject, the Memoirs of the life of the president De Thou, and in particular his History, anno 1605. Vitt. Siri's Mem. second. vol. I. p. 297.

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and Dauphiné, in his way *, so that between us we were to go through almost all France. We settled the time of our departure, our stay, and even the place of our meeting, which was to be at Toulouse; and I looked upon his majesty's journey to be so certain, that I thought of nothing but of coming immediately to Paris (for all this was resolved on at Fontainebleau) to settle the affairs of the government, that our journey might not suffer any delay, it being resolved that we should set out some time in the present month of June at farthest. Such persons as had business depending in the king's council, pressed the conclusion of it with the utmost assiduity, as soon as the king's intention was made public; and the counsellors rejoiced at this eagerness, because, that great part of them being to attend the king in his journey, they did not chuse to leave the business they had begun, to be finished by the new council which his majesty would name during his absence.

THIS scheme, so well concerted, was never carried into execution, with respect to the king's part in it. As soon as his majesty's intended journey was declared to the courtiers, all was presently in an uproar; and it caused, as usual, great emotions at court. There was not one to whom this design did not give great uneasiness, and who did not use his utmost endeavours to dissuade him from it; some, such as the ministers and great officers that were about his person, to spare the expences of so tedious a journey, and the gay delicate youth of the court to avoid the fatigue and other inconveniencies usual in such expeditions; so that, when his majesty proposed the affair in form to his counsellors of state, whom he sent for expressly to Fontainebleau, and the principal lords of his court, assembled for that purpose, they opposed it with innumerable obstacles, without ever reaching the true one.

THEY alledged the uncertainty of the sieges of Ostend and Sluys; the fear of a league between England and Spain; the treaty of commerce depending between France and that crown; the affair of the count d'Auvergne and the marchioness de Verneuil; the misunderstanding that had risen lately between the republic of Grisons, and the count de Fuentes, concerning the Valtoline, in which France was indispensably obliged to interest herself, on account of the Venetians and the Swiss. All those affairs I have already mentioned, or shall do immediately: in a word,

* See the original of a letter written by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny, on the subject of this journey to Poitou, dated the 20th of July 1604, with an indorsement thereon, as most of his letters have, in the handwriting of this minister. Henry IVth's letters.

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THEY even suggested reasons to his majesty, to make him change his opinion as to the necessity of mine. The affairs that then lay before the council began to appear to him of such importance, that, to prevent losing sight of them for so long a time, he, for this once, desired me to confine my endeavours to what I could do, without going farther than Poitou, and remit, to another opportunity, my design of visiting the maritime coasts. I do not pretend to deny, that part of the arguments they made use of, to dissuade the king from his journey, had some weight: however, I believe I have mentioned the most important of them; and I still persisted in my first opinion, of the great advantage it would be to the state.

ONE man, whom the news of his majesty's intended journey did not a little perplex, and whose name probably the reader will not expect to find here, was Lefdiguieres; and a report being then current, that the count of Soissons was shortly to be put in possession of those cautionary places given to Lefdiguieres, it was natural for him to believe that he was personally concerned in the resolution his majesty had taken. His correspondence with the duke of Bouillon was just come to light; Morges, who had given secret advice of it from Dauphiné, brought proofs of it when he came to Paris, which were confirmed by Du-Bourg.

I SET out from Paris in the month of June, and took the shortest road to Poitou, accompanied by several persons of quality of that province, who, upon the report of my journey, ranged themselves about me, some of them with no other intention, but to pay me those honours which they thought due to their governor: but others, among whom, I may, without scruple, put * Richelieu and Pont-courlai, attended me in my expedition with no other view, but to get more certain intelligence of my designs, either from my own mouth, or by tampering with my people, to learn all that should be done or said in my family, that they might afterwards give the chiefs of the protestant party notice of all, and prepare them to oppose such measures, as they imagined I might be ordered to take against them in favour of the ca-

* Francis Du-Plessis de Richelieu, father of cardinal de Richelieu, and Francis de Vignerod de Pont-courlai.

tholics; in a word, to take advantage of every little inadvertence, if it should happen that any did escape me, to render me criminal, or raise suspicions in the king's mind to my prejudice. But in this, my enemies did not succeed, however they might in some other of their designs; the correspondence his majesty did me the honour to keep regularly with me, when I was at any distance from him, still continued as usual; and I had even more frequent opportunities of entering into his confidence, and knowing to what degree he interested himself in the safety of my person. He often, with great goodness, bid me remember, that I was in a country where, whatever appearance the inhabitants might assume, it was certain they wished me no good, and that I ought to be continually on my guard against them.

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It was but too true, that the king's enemies and mine, had taken measures before hand to render all my endeavours fruitless, and to animate the populace against me: that which appeared most likely to produce this effect, was to spread a report, that the design which brought me to Poitou, was to force the proprietors* of the salt-pits to yield up their property, and to purchase them for the king. Those in whom I discovered the greatest malevolence towards me, were such from whom it was least to be expected, my brethren the protestants: but I mean the principal ones only; yet these affected to pay me outwardly all imaginable honours; and, although they refused to let me into the secret of their debates, yet it was always upon such plausible pretences, that I had room to feign myself entirely satisfied. They were apprehensive of Parabere, who was more particularly attached to me than any of the others, though they well knew his ardent zeal for his religion, because he was naturally frank and open in his temper, and had intentions far more equitable: they therefore commissioned d'Aubigné and Constant to watch him narrowly, and never to quit him while he continued about me. But this malignancy, with respect to me, extended no farther than to a small number of persons; or if it did, they concealed it with great care. I was received with the most distinguishing marks of respect in every place where I made any stay, and in those that I only passed through; they came to meet me, harangued me, and escorted me with ceremony on my way. The ecclesiastics seemed most eager to shew me respect; and I never heard the least

* Prefixe makes no doubt, but Henry IV. really had formed this design, and greatly commends him for it, as being the only certain method to free his people from

the gabelle or salt duty, which, he asserts, this prince was fully determined to abolish, as well as the taille, p. 369.

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expression that suggested a doubt of my religion : the inhabitants of Poitiers, who have the reputation of being naturally rude and unsociable, gave me, by their polite and respectful behaviour, a very different notion of their character.

I WAS still more surpris'd at the conduct of the Rochellers : this imperious city, that usually makes it her boast to have only the king himself for governor, and under him that haughty and important mayor, who is generally elect'd out of there persons propos'd by them to his majesty, might have laid great stress upon those mighty prerogatives with so much the more reason, in respect to me, as their city was not properly within the limits of my government ; however, they gave me as honourable a reception as they could have done to a governor chosen by themselves. I entered the city with a train of twelve hundred horse : such an escort gave me the less room to be apprehensive of those attempts his majesty warn'd me to be careful of ; the Rochellers opened their gates to this train, without any distinction of persons or religions ; they were all lodged within the walls, and most of them in the houses of the citizens. At a public dinner, which was given on my account, and to which I was invited with great ceremony, they drank the king's health, and said, that, if his majesty had done them the honour to present himself before their gates, though followed with thirty thousand men, they would have opened them to him ; and that, if their gates were not wide enough to admit them, they would have thrown down three hundred feet of their walls. I saw nothing but respect and submission, and heard nothing but praises of this prince ; they likewise assur'd me, with the most flattering encomiums, that, if I had brought a train much larger with me, they would have acted in the same manner.

THE dinner I have mentioned consisted of seventeen tables, the least of which had sixteen covers ; and the next day they gave me a collation as magnificent as the dinner had been ; they added to it, the representation of a naval fight between Correilles, and Chef-de-Baye, in which twenty French vessels attacked a like number of Spanish vessels. The vanquish'd Spaniards were brought bound hand and foot, before a picture of the king, expos'd to public view ; and they were presented to me as to his lieutenant-general : nothing was wanting to render this shew complete ; dresses, arms, pavillions, and escutcheons different. I repaid this good reception, by granting the Rochellers, in the name of the king, whose elogium I pronounced publicly, the deliverance of their prisoners : excepting these, and the sieur de Luffan,

Lussan, I punished severely all that had infringed the treaties of commerce. His majesty was satisfied with having obliged the city of Rochelle to ask him for this favour, which he well knew how to make them pay for. At Poitiers, I learned some circumstances which persuaded me, the count of Auvergne was much more culpable than I had hitherto believed.

THE king had allowed me so little time to regulate the affairs of this province, that I was obliged to defer visiting the Upper and Lower Poitou till another opportunity. I could only obtain permission from his majesty to go to Saint-John d'Angely, and to Brouage, by representing to him the necessity there was for undertaking this journey to undeceive the people of that district, who suspected that the king had an intention to deprive them of their salt-pits. I set out from Rochelle, to go to these two places, and was received by messieurs de Rohan and de Saint-Luc still better than I expected. I used my utmost endeavours to recall Rohan to his duty and allegiance; I mentioned his intrigues in England, and exhorted him to recall Durand from thence: he appeared greatly astonished at this discourse, complained of the calumnies his enemies spread abroad of him; disavowed the agency of Durand; and, to convince me of his sincerity, acknowledged circumstances unasked, as the horse presented by him to king James, but assured me, he had obtained his majesty's permission for it, which he could easily bring to his remembrance.

FROM Saint-Jean I resumed the road to Paris through Thouars, where I was desirous of having a conference with the duke de La-Tremouille. I did not expect so polite a reception from him as I really received, sensible that he must be greatly mortified to see me possess a government, and receive honours, to which he had aspired with such extreme ardency, as to solicit them publicly. Our conversation often turned on the many causes of complaint the protestant party had given the king; and even in the presence of Parabere, Saint-Germain-de-Clan, Bessès, La-Valliere, Constant, d'Aubigné (these were hardly ever absent) Preaux, La-Ferriere, and La Saussaye; they all exclaimed loudly upon the injustice that had been done them by the king, protesting their fidelity and attachment to his majesty; and the better to impose upon me, accompanied their assurances with so much civility to myself, and such gross flatteries, that they fell into the other extreme of a too glaring affectation.

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IN the midst of all this art and disguise, I did not cease to penetrate into their designs, by turning the discourse, in their presence, upon the state of affairs in Spain and England. They betrayed themselves then in spite of their endeavours to the contrary; and it was no longer possible for me to doubt, that all this little court of people attached to the dukes of Rohan and de La Tremouille were, in reality, such as they were represented to his majesty: but I discovered at the same time, and the intelligence which the post I possessed in that province, afforded me an opportunity of procuring, gave me, in the sequel, the utmost certainty that these gentlemen had no power with the rest of the protestant party; they were no longer, as formerly, those absolute leaders that, with a single word, drew all their suffrages; but, on the contrary, they were shunned as men infected with the plague, when they came to deliberate in the assemblies. This they had brought upon themselves by their own imprudence, in putting the party upon such dangerous and ridiculous enterprises, as had at length undeceived the most credulous amongst them; and the highest idea that could be now given of them was, that they formed a party in the midst of the party itself, and only supported themselves by a vain exertion of authority, of which they but possessed the shadow.

I DID NOT neglect to make all the advantage I could of such favourable dispositions, and entirely undeceived the people with regard to the injurious reports that had been spread among them concerning the salt-pits, the excise, and other monopolies, which had been made use of to excite them to sedition. They now began to have a more perfect knowledge of their king; their notion of his tyranny and their slavery were wholly effaced. I made the protestants comprehend how groundless their suspicions were, that Henry had ever designed to exclude them from any of the offices and dignities in the state, since it had always been his chief maxim to keep the balance even between the two religions; I convinced them likewise, how much they had been blinded by prejudice, with respect to Clement the eighth, who was so far from endeavouring to extirpate the protestants, that he had, on all occasions, strongly opposed making war against them.

MY actions completed the work my discourses had begun; I distributed pensions among those of the party who had advised peace, and served the king faithfully; and, to convince them absolutely that they were not deceived, with regard to the equitable intentions of their sovereign,

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veraign, I shewed them the paper that contained all the reformati-
 ons he proposed to make in the state, the same that I have formerly men-
 tioned, with which they were fully satisfied. By these means I so
 shook the duke de La-Tremouille's party, that he could never after-
 wards strengthen it with six persons of any consequence. The duke
 of Bouillon was so greatly affected with the knowledge that he had
 lost all the remaining interest he had hitherto preserved in this district
 of France, that he determined to pass the rest of his days in that kind
 of exile that kept him in the court of the elector Palatine quiet in
 spite of himself. Saint-Germain, who was not unacquainted with any
 of the duke's secrets, wrote an account of this design to La-Saussaye,
 of whom he thought himself absolutely secure; but La-Saussaye gave
 me Saint-Germain's letter, which I shewed to his majesty.

HAVING thus performed all that the present conjuncture, and the
 shortness of the time permitted me, I obeyed the king's repeated com-
 mands (which every one of his letters brought me) to return as soon
 as possible, and followed in a few days my last letter, which I wrote
 to his majesty from Thouars on the 16th of July. Before I went
 away I visited the duke de La-Tremouille for the last time; he was
 indisposed when I came to Thouars, and I left him at the point of
 death when I set out from thence; he died * without being prevailed
 upon to promise that he would come to court, and his death deprived
 the malecontents of one leader.

I ARRIVED at Paris on the 22d of July, where I found a billet from
 his majesty, dated the 18th, in which he desired me to send into every
 part of Normandy, Brittany, and Poitou, whither I had had a design to
 go myself, two persons on whose fidelity and understanding I could re-
 ly, and to come myself to him at Monceaux, where he waited for me,
 having given over drinking the waters. I was sensible, by the kind
 and obliging reception this prince gave me, that I had been fortunate
 enough to give him satisfaction † as to the business that had occasioned
 my journey; and I now related to him, during the course of three days,
 all that I had omitted in my letters to him or to Villeroi.

* Claude de La-Tremouille, duke of
 Thouars, died of the gout, being only
 thirty-four years of age. See his elogium
 in De Thou, book xxxi. and Matthieu,

vol. II. b. iii. p. 663.

† De Thou says, this journey of M. de
 Rosny freed Henry IV. from great disquiet.
 book xxxi.

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It has been reported, that the duke of Epernon behaved at that time in such a manner in Guienne, as to give his majesty more cause than ever to suspect him; that I distrusted his fidelity, and on this occasion did him all the bad offices that could proceed from a mortal enemy. This report, with regard to myself, I here declare to be absolutely false; and I believe what was said to the disadvantage of d'Epernon to be so likewise; and that the unfavourable sentiments they attributed to his majesty of this duke, has no better foundation. One would imagine, that the opinion Henry entertained of him was sufficiently clear, by the letter this prince wrote to the duke on the subject of the dispute between Du-Plessis and the bishop of Evreux, in which he treated him as a friend, a title he never gave to those whom he did not think worthy of it. And here I may add a circumstance of which I am absolutely certain, and speak from my own knowledge.

His majesty, after the time here meant, granted D'Epernon a thousand things unask'd, and often pressed me to visit him, and give him other instances of kindness, even before I had received the like from him. If Henry heard any thing to the duke's disadvantage during his stay in Guienne, it is what I am wholly ignorant of; this only I know, that his majesty was easily freed from any remains of suspicion, after the letters that d'Epernon sent to him and to me by Perronne, in which there were such evident marks of sincerity and conscious innocence confirmed by the offer he made to attend his majesty upon the very first order he should receive, that he might put his person in his power, to answer for the loyalty of his intentions, that there was nothing left to reply. No one is ignorant of what passed between the king and the duke of Epernon during the life, and even after the death of Henry III. and that this prince had discovered some resentment towards him; but this was at an end; forgetfulness of injuries is a virtue very rare among princes, and is thought yet rarer than it is. Sufficient regard has not been shewn to the proofs which Henry has given more than once of that true greatness of mind which is capable of pardoning; and all that he did for the duke of Epernon may be considered as an instance of his clemency.

For myself, I was so far from being an enemy to d'Epernon, at the time I have been speaking of, that I can bring a thousand instances to prove we had been in a perfect good intelligence with each other: but
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it is fit I should be believed upon my bare word, as I have hitherto shewn myself equally incapable of disguising my sentiments, whether of friendship or hate, or of accusing the innocent, or justifying a traitor. D'Epernon had the misfortune to fall off his horse in Guienne, by which he broke his thigh and his thumb, and bruised himself likewise in the shoulder and elbow; which obliged him to keep his bed forty days, and lie during all that time upon his back. I wrote to him a letter of condolance upon this accident; and he thanked me with the same affection which he usually expressed in all his letters, for he then treated me as a friend; and I was likewise his confidant in all that regarded the king *. Another of my friends, but one who had never been otherwise, from whom I this year received letters equally polite, friendly, and unreserved, was Bellegarde; they are dated from Dijon; he was then in his government of Burgundy. But it is time to return to the count of Auvergne.

IT now depended wholly upon the king to deprive this rebellious subject of all means of conspiring against the state: the unreasonable clemency with which he had been treated by his majesty at the time that marshal Biron suffered a just sentence, was the cause of his relapse; as the tenderness his majesty had shewn for this whole family, on account of the marchioness de Verneuil, had first encouraged him in his revolt. It would not probably have been difficult to find such another opportunity as his majesty had suffered to escape him, when he received notice of the new intrigues which the count was carrying on in Spain, and that fuller discoveries concerning those intrigues might be expected from the seizure of Morgan *, his chief agent, who was just then arrested, but the king was contented with suffering D'Escures to go, by my orders, to Auvergne, where the count then was, to discover the plot, and by gentle methods persuade him to come and throw himself at his majesty's feet.

IN effect, d'Auvergne was convinced that this was the wisest and the only part he had to take; the seizing of Morgan had wholly disconcerted him, and the measures he had taken had been too imprudent to leave him a hope that his designs could be concealed, or that they were in sufficient forwardness to enable him to throw off the mask; he feared that by flying he should expose the count and countess d'En-

* See the originals of these letters in the old Memoirs; they seem a little to contradict one another in what relates to the duke

of Epernon.

† Thomas Morgan, an Englishman. See De Thou, *ibid.*

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tragues and his whole family, to a shameful treatment; he therefore yielded to d'Eſcure's arguments, and promiſed to go with him to court, and reveal to the king his cloſet ſecrets, and even to ſhew a letter from his ſiſter, which he ſaid was of the utmoſt conſequence, provided that his majeſty would grant him the pardon he had promiſed. The original of this letter from the marchioneſs de Verneuil was not produced till the following year, and it was not very certain what credit ſhould be given to it, becauſe the brother and ſiſter ſometimes appeared to be on friendly terms, and often in ſuch high diſguſt that they could not bear each other's ſight. That which appears moſt worthy of obſervation in this letter is, that in it ſhe exhorts her brother to a ſecure retreat in a foreign country, and appears herſelf determined to do the like.

THAT the count d'Auvergne was not very ſincere in the promiſe he made d'Eſcures, appears by his ſending Yverné to Spain, at the very time that he ſet out himſelf for Paris. The biſhop of Montpellier diſcovered this intrigue, and ſent the king notice of it: but this prince was willing a ſecond time to liſten to his fine promiſes. He only ordered, that the parliament ſhould finiſh Morgan's trial, that the crime being made public might give more weight to the pardon he was reſolved to grant to the whole family of Auvergne, which was comprehended in it. All that this prince gained by the proſecution was, to get that famous promiſe * of marriage he had in vain ſolicited his miſtreſs to return, reſtored to him by d'Entragues; which was done in the preſence of the count of Soiſſons, the duke of Montpenſier, the chancellor, Sillery, La-Guêlle, Jeannin, Gevres, and Villeroi; that this reſtitution might not be afterwards eluded by any reſtriction or diſavowal; and an act was made, importing, that this was the true and only writing given by his majeſty on that ſubject; and the declaration of d'Entragues confirming this, was joined to the paper.

THIS conduct of Henry was not calculated to make the count of Auvergne leſs raſh and enterpriſing; and, in effect, he renewed his former intrigues almoſt before his majeſty's eyes: his whole care was to deceive the king, who for a long time was impoſed upon by his

* Henry IV. in order to gain this promiſe, was obliged to pay the marchioneſs de Verneuil, twenty thouſand crowns down, and to promiſe the baton of a marechal of

France to the count of Entragues, who had never been in any military action. De Thou, book cxxiii.

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appearances of sincerity : but at length the whole mystery was discovered by some letters written and received by d' Auvergne, which fell into the hands of Lomenie, and by him carried immediately to the king. This prince was then convinced of the full extent of his crimes ; but this conviction came too late, for the count, either by his own penetration, or that he received notice of what had happened, had time to leave the court before the resolution that had been taken to arrest him could be executed, determined within himself never to return to it again after the danger he had so lately escaped, and even to leave France altogether, upon the least information that any thing was resolved on against him.

THE king acquainted me with the perplexity he was in through his own fault. D' Escures was sent again to Auvergne : he went a third time, but to no purpose : the methods that had formerly succeeded were now ineffectual. D' Auvergne always knew how to elude his return to court, to which he was earnestly pressed, but with such appearance of indifference and unconcern, that it was not possible to draw from his refusal a conviction of his crime, as it was expected they should do. He made the fairest promises imaginable, and always appeared disposed to set out. There was a necessity at length for making use of the only method yet unattempted, which was to secure his person ; but this did not seem easy to effect.

I CAST my eyes upon a man who seemed to me likely enough to succeed in such an attempt, and this was the treasurer Murat ; his personal hatred to the count d' Auvergne, his knowledge of the country, the convenience he could have of staying a long time upon the spot without giving cause of suspicion, his resolution in any arduous enterprise, and his zeal for the service of his majesty, all promised a happy and honourable end of this commission. I proposed him to the king when his majesty mentioned the affair to me, and upon his approbation I sent for Murat ; to whom at first I acted with all the reserve and precaution that a matter of such consequence required. When I found that instead of bringing arguments for being dispensed with for such a service, he himself prevented my offers, I explained myself clearly, and perceived that the proposal was far from being displeasing to him ; he only required a commission for it under the great seal, which was granted, and kept very secret. As we had not yet lost all hope that d' Escures might be able to draw the count to court, and in that case Murat would have nothing to do, when I gave him

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his instructions I enjoined him not to act but in concert with d'Escures, and to conceal from every one the part that was to be given him in this business, if he found there was no longer any occasion for him.

D'ESCURES set out for Auvergne on the 17th of August (this was the third or fourth time of his going) and Murat followed him a few days afterwards, provided with blank letters for the cities and officers *des presideaux*, which were to be filled up at the places themselves. In the mean time some letters from d'Auvergne came to hand, in which he expressed so much fear and shame, that the king rightly judged he would never be prevailed on to appear at court, and therefore thought it best for d'Escures to avoid pressing him to take that step, lest he should increase his apprehensions. Murat had now orders to act singly; and d'Escures, on his side, to use his utmost endeavours to procure certain intelligence of all d'Auvergne's practices in Spain, and, if possible, to intercept the treaty which it was thought he had already made with the council of Madrid. All this d'Escures executed with such dexterity, that he prevented the count, artful and penetrating as he was, from suspecting any of those measures the council was now pursuing.

A LITTLE affair between a brother of Murat's and the count of Auvergne gave this trusty agent a pretence for going to the count; which having settled between them, the count, of himself, entered into a conversation with him concerning the state of his affairs at court, which gave Murat an opportunity of seeming to regulate the advice he offered him upon what he himself had said. D'Auvergne founded violent suspicions upon the insinuations that were given him, that the king expected he should shew himself at court; and upon d'Escures's endeavouring to persuade him to go, yet pretending not to know that it was the king's desire, he therefore assured Murat that he would not go; and that rather than expose himself to the fury of his enemies, he would submit himself to a voluntary exile in a foreign country: he mentioned the fate of marechal Biron, which seemed to give him great apprehensions; and said, that having formerly had the misfortune to offend his king, he could not resolve to appear before him till he had effaced the memory of his fault by new services, and till the pardon his majesty had granted him was confirmed. At length he gave Murat to understand, that his reason for not being willing to trust the intentions of the court, arose from the informations he had received of the danger he was threatened with if he appeared there, this notice having been sent to him from some of the courtiers themselves, persons of
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the first distinction, who were well acquainted with the affair, and deserved to be relied on.

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MURAT finding himself thus made a confidant of, answered with great seeming simplicity, that since the count had confessed his error to the king, he saw no inconvenience attending his return to court; that the pardon he had obtained made a wide difference between his case and that of marechal Biron; and that nothing but a relapse into the same error could authorize his scruples, since Henry had never yet broke his word with any one; therefore his best counsellors would be his own conscience. D'Escures likewise laboured with equal sollicitude to re-assure him with regard to the king, and to give him a distrust of those persons that sent him the informations he had mentioned.

TO all this the count only replied, that when his life was in question he would not run any hazard; that neither the king, the queen, or the princes of the blood, were his friends, and the master of the horse his mortal enemy; that the silence of his friends on this occasion was one proof of his ruin being determined; that no one solicited for him to the king; that he now never received any letters from Villeroi, Sillery, or me, because we were not willing to reproach ourselves with having been the instruments of his fate; that the constable no longer corresponded with him, for fear of rendering himself suspected: but it was with the marchioness de Verneuil he appeared to be most discontented; he knew his sister, he said, to make her peace with the king at his expence, was capable of charging him with false crimes, if she could not with real ones; and concluded with new protestations, that nothing should draw him from his retreat. As he did not suspect that d'Escures and Murat were come with an intention to persuade him to go, he told them, that he supposed Vitry would arrive in a few days, and expect to gain him with fair words, but that he would lose his labour.

THE retreat he was resolved not to be prevailed upon to leave was Vic, a poor house, without any conveniences; but situated in the midst of a wood, where d'Auvergne passed whole days, under pretence of hunting. Although there had been no other proofs of his crimes, his fears, his continual alarms, the agitation of his thoughts, the wildness of his look and air, and the disorder of his whole person, would have been a sufficient testimony against him: nothing could be more miserable than the life he now led; and the terror and anxiety that

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preyed upon his heart, revenged, by anticipating his punishment, both the king and the state. He was afraid to stay in his house, yet durst not trust himself at any considerable distance from it; he was never seen in the neighbouring towns; he had left off visiting his friends, nor durst even confide in his mistress, a certain lady, named madame de Chateau-gay; he no longer visited her at her house, but when he chose to see her they met in an obscure village, or in the midst of the fields, always in the night, and never twice together in the same place. His servants, whom he posted on eminences in the neighbouring places, were ordered to give him notice when they saw any one appear, by blowing a horn; and sometimes he made use of dogs for his guard.

WITH these precautions he defied all his enemies, and insolently, as well as imprudently, boasted, that he should always be able to deceive and escape them: nevertheless, his resolutions were always varying, he never continued two moments in the same mind. And this man, so wise, so sagacious, penetrated so little into the intentions of those that came to destroy him, that he made them his friends, took them for his counsellors, and was many times upon the point of abandoning himself to their discretion. But prudence is a quality seldom found with a bad conscience; had d'Auvergne possessed ever so little of it he would have known, that there was no safety for him but in an immediate flight to Spain; and this, probably, was the only scheme that never entered into his head. At the very moment that he appeared determined to d'Escures and Murat not to expose himself to the danger of going to court, he talked to them in a strain quite different. He once sent to them to come and meet him at a place three leagues distant from his own house: though this summons gave them at first some uneasiness, not knowing what his intentions might be, yet they went, and found that he had sent for them only to tell them he was now resolved to go and present himself to the king. His majesty, to whom they sent immediate notice of this resolution, and who gave the more credit to it on account of a false report that was added to it, wrote to me on the 19th of November, that d'Auvergne was at Moret, ready to set out for Paris. In this it was not d'Escures and Muret that were deceived by the count, but the count by his own inconstancy; for he was the first to retain them with him, when they appeared willing to go back, and to refer them for his last answer to the return of Fougeu, from whom he expected to draw a great deal of intelligence; to which the two agents seemed to consent, purely through complaisance to him.

THIS whole account I take from Murat's letters. I received, at the same time, a letter from the count d'Auvergne himself. He complained to the two agents, that he never had any answer to four letters, which, he said, he had wrote to me. I received, indeed, four from him, but altogether; and the writing so like, although of different dates, that I perceived immediately what credit I ought to give to them. It was probable, that d'Auvergne did not think of me at first, or believed that it would not be proper to make any application to me; but that afterwards, supposing this method was likely enough to make his peace, for he often mentioned me to the two agents, he had recourse to it, with the well known artifice of antedating his letters, to prove to me that this had always been his design.

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If the count had any intention to draw a promise from me, which, on this occasion, he might make use of as a security, he deceived himself greatly: I sent him an answer indeed, but as if I had nothing more nor better to say to him, than what I had said before to marechal Biron in the same circumstances, I treated him like a state criminal, without augmenting his suspicions; the letter I wrote to Auvergne, in a word, was but a copy of that which I had written to marechal Biron; and he could not be ignorant that it was so, since I acknowledged it plainly. It is by this counterstroke, which is doubtless of new invention, that I gave d'Auvergne to understand, he ought neither to attribute to the king, such sentiments of him as he really did not entertain, neglect the advice I had often given him, relating to his conduct, nor lay a stress upon actions and reports, that had no foundation but in his own unquiet conscience. This was all that I wrote to Auvergne; and after his conviction, this proceeding appeared so candid, and so free from all artifice, that he praised it greatly.

DESCURES and Murat at length found the opportunity they had so long waited for. M. de Vendome's regiment of light horse being to be reviewed, they imparted a scheme that they had concerted to D'Erre, who commanded it; and the general officers of this body being all ready, it was effected in the following manner: D'Erre went to the count, and told him, that he being colonel-general of the light cavalry, he ought certainly to be present at this review. D'Auvergne apprehended no danger, because he was not only mounted upon a horse, which, as he said, outstripped the wind; and, indeed, he was accustomed to make him gallop ten leagues without intermission; but he

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was resolved not to enter any narrow place, or to dismount during the whole time. Accordingly he came to the review. Nerestan advanced to salute him, followed only by four footmen, in appearance; but, in reality, four stout and resolute soldiers, whom they had disguised in liveries. At the instant that Nerestan was paying his compliments, two of these soldiers seized the reins of the count's bridle, and the two others, at the same time, laid hold of his legs and pulled him off his horse, throwing themselves upon him so suddenly, that he had neither time to lay his hand upon his pistols, nor draw his sword, and still less to fly. He was immediately conducted, under a good guard, to Paris, and shut up in the Bastile*.

D'ENTRAGUES was arrested at the same time that the count d'Auvergne was; and the marchioness de Verneuil was, in some sort, associated with the two criminals, since the king consented that she should be confined in her house †, where she continued under the guard of the chevalier Du Guet. It was this association that saved the lives of the father-in-law and the brother. At first they had not dared to hope for so much lenity; nor could the public expect it, after such frequent relapses, especially as they found that preparations were making for their trials with the utmost severity. The count of Auvergne gave the king an exact account of his correspondencies, as well within as without the kingdom; and he was obliged to give up that promise of association made by him and the dukes of Bouillon and Biron, which has been mentioned before, and till now could never be forced from him.

* "The countess of Auvergne, as meek and humble as the marchioness was haughty and imperious, having thrown herself at the king's feet, with all the marks of the deepest sorrow, to beg his pardon for her husband, his majesty, with great courtesy, raised her up and saluted her, saying thus to her, I feel the utmost compassion for your misery and your tears, but if I should grant your request, this my wife (taking the queen by the hand) must be declared a whore, my son a bastard, and my kingdom fall a prey to others. The same lady having obtained the king's permission to send one to see her husband, and to enquire of him what she could do for his service, he sent her word, only to let him have some good cheese and mustard,

and not to trouble herself about any thing further." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

"The count of Auvergne," says Amelot in the place before quoted, "had so entire a dependance on the fidelity of Anthony (that is, the paymaster Chevallard) that, in three examinations he underwent, he said, with as much intrepidity as if he had been entirely innocent, in this respect, *Gentlemen, shew me one single line of my writing, to prove I ever entered into any treaty with the king of Spain, or his ambassador, and I will write the sentence of my death under it, and condemn myself to be quartered alive.*"

† In the house of one Audicourt, in Saint Paul's-street.

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MESSAGES at the same time began to be carried between Henry and the marchioness de Verneuil, not on the same account; for I am persuaded, the reader does not expect to see any great severity used towards her. The king could not resolve to leave her a single moment in doubt of her pardon; with difficulty it was that he endeavoured to save appearances, by sending different messengers to tell the marchioness, that she should purchase this pardon, by an absolute submission to such conditions as he should prescribe to her. La-Varenne, Sigogne, the whole court was employed in these messages, which, by the manner in which they were delivered, were indeed the real advances of a lover, who feared, notwithstanding his anger, that he should raise too strong an obstacle to his reconciliation with the object of his passion. The marchioness discovered and well knew how to make her advantage of this weakness. I likewise served Henry for an interpreter upon this occasion, although I plainly perceived that he would not come off with honour: but he insisted upon my interposing, and I obeyed him, with an intention to make the conclusion of this affair as honourable as I could for him.

THE first order his majesty gave me, was to go to the marchioness de Verneuil, and hear what she had to say concerning the crimes she was accused of, to draw from her a confession of them, and make her sensible of her ingratitude. I cannot say that my commission went farther, unless one takes in several bitter reproaches, and some advice which proved to be useless, concerning the manner in which she ought to have behaved to a prince who had laid such great obligations upon her. I did not see her the first time I went to her house; she ordered me to be told, that a defluxion which was fallen upon her face, hindered her from receiving any visits. I sent a gentleman to her, to know at what hour I should attend her; but, before my messenger was returned, a servant, whom she had sent in the mean time, came to tell me, that she would see me at two o'clock in the afternoon.

I FOUND a woman whom disgrace could not humble, whose insolence detection could not abate *, and who, instead of endeavouring to

* "She said, she gave herself no concern about dying, but that, on the contrary, she wished for death; but, if the king should put her to death, it would always be said he had killed his wife, for that she was his queen before the other :

"upon the whole, she only desired three things of his majesty; a pardon for her father, a rope for her brother, and justice for herself." Journal of the reign of Henry IV. "On searching her cabinets, adds the same author, and making excuse

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excuse herself, or to implore a pardon, talked in the style of one who had suffered wrongs, not given them, and pretended to demand conditions for herself; she complained, she raved against the king, made new demands, wrapped herself up in reserve, and affected the devotee. I was not a person on whom these arts were to be played off; I neither flattered her pride, nor soothed her resentment; I began with the greatest of her crimes, and reproached her with having joined herself to the enemies of the state; I told her that she would have reason to think herself happy, if her punishment was confined to a permission to banish herself out of the kingdom, to end her days in any country but Spain; and that this favour would not be granted her, till she had submitted to be examined as a criminal, and asked the king's pardon for her disobedience.

I PROCEEDED in the next place, to her unworthy behaviour towards the queen. I made her sensible, that to offend, as she had done, a princess, who was her queen and mistress*, by a thousand injurious reflexions, was to attack the king himself, and expose her own person to a severe punishment: I reproached her with her ridiculous affectation of equalling herself to the queen, and her children to the children of France; with her haughty and insolent behaviour; and especially her malignity in sowing discord between their majesties: and added, that she would be compelled to throw herself at the queen's feet, to implore her pardon for all the faults she had committed against her.

NOR did I spare her upon her pretended devotion to which she had recourse, not scrupling, at the same time, to violate her principal duties to the king, the queen, and the state. I told her plainly, that this shew of regularity was mere grimace and affectation, which I proved by entering into a detail of her whole life, to let her see that I was well informed of her amours. I even mentioned them all particularly, to deprive her of her usual excuse, that they existed only in the jealous imagination of the king; and thence drew a new subject of shame and confusion for her with regard to this prince, whom she so grossly abused. I shewed her what she would have done if her inclination for a religious life had been a real return towards God; and assured her, that

" ing an inventory of all her papers, many
 " love letters (the implements of her trade)
 " were found amongst them, some of
 " which were from Sigogne, which occa-
 " sioned his disgrace,

* " She sometimes said, that, if justice
 " were done her, she ought to be in the
 " place of that clumsy tradewoman."
 Percfixe.

his majesty would never have opposed her retreat into a convent, if he had perceived in her behaviour any signs of true devotion.

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I GAVE her, at length, all sorts of good counsels, which indeed she did not desire, nor was disposed to follow. She ought, at least, to have appeared willing to do so; but she contented herself with answering coldly, after hearing me the whole time with great indifference, that she thanked me, and would consider of what I had said. When I asked her what causes of complaint she had received that had thus carried her to violate her duty to the king, her answer was, that if the king had asked her this question, he would have been to blame, since he knew them better than any other person; and if it came from myself, I was no less so, since I had no means of satisfying it.

CONTINUING still to question her, I asked what it was that she requested of his majesty. She answered, that although she knew well the king's inclinations would not be conformable to hers on this article, yet she still persisted to demand permission for herself, her father, mother, brother, and her children, to go and settle themselves somewhere out of France: and added, in naming her brother, that he suffered only on account of his affection for her. I could hardly persuade myself this resolution was sincere. I contrived it so as to make her repeat it several times, and she never varied from it in the smallest article. It was natural enough that the rage and grief she conceived at the imprisonment of her family, and at the treatment she herself suffered, should make her form such a design; and the conditions she annexed to it absolutely convinced me that she was in earnest. Upon my obliging her to explain herself farther as to this intended retreat out of the kingdom, she said, that she would not go among foreigners to starve; the queen should not have the satisfaction to know that she dragged on a miserable life in poverty and exile. She therefore insisted, that an estate in lands should be given her of a hundred thousand francs at least, which was but a trifle, after all she might have lawfully expected from the king. These words, which she pronounced with great bitterness, doubtless related to the promise of marriage given her by Henry, the loss of which had affected her strongly: and she endeavoured, but in vain, to conceal her rage from me.

I HAD never formed to myself any great expectations from an interview with the marchioness of Verneuil; but I could not help laying

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some stress upon her repeated request, to be allowed to settle herself out of the kingdom; the more I reflected on it, the more I was convinced that it was the only method by which this whole intrigue * could be unravelled; and all which now remained to be done, was to prevail upon Henry to consent to this proposal of the marchioness, by which he would remove from his eyes an object that drew him into continual weaknesses, and purchase the future peace and tranquility of his family. Money was all that was required of him to procure these advantages: ought the effort then to be so painful? I was determined to use my utmost endeavours to accomplish it.

I WENT to his majesty; and, after giving him an account of the success of my commission, proposed to him the expedient that presented itself to free him from all his uneasiness. I was not surprised to find, that it did not appear so happy to him as it had done to me; but I was armed with strong arguments of every kind to support it: what did I not say to this prince? what persuasion did I not use? policy, interest, quiet, reason, each of these motives I dwelt upon, and exhausted all; I brought to his remembrance his own unfavourable opinion of this woman and her family; I repeated circumstances so much the more likely to re-kindle his anger, as they had already often produced that effect; the harsh epithets he had given the countess d'Entragues and her daughters; the intrigues so well known and so incontestable, that had given cause for them; the sum of money granted by his order, to pay for an imaginary sacrifice in the first favour, which he confessed, at the same time, was no longer in the power of his mistress to bestow;

* M. de Sully had made Henry IV. lose a favourable opportunity of getting handsomely rid of his mistress, if we may believe Bassompierre's Memoirs, where the thing is thus related, vol. I. p. 90. "The king asked, whether he should give Madam de Verneuil any thing to enable her to marry a prince, who, he told him, was willing to have her, provided he had a hundred thousand crowns more than she then was worth. M. de Bellièvre said, Sire, I am of opinion it will be well worth your while to give that lady a hundred thousand crowns, if she can find a good match by that means: to which M. de Sully answering, that it was an easy matter to talk of a hundred

thousand crowns, but very difficult to find out the means to raise them, the chancellor, without taking notice of what he said, went on; Sire, I am of opinion, that you should take two hundred thousand good crowns, and if that is not sufficient, three hundred thousand, or, in short, any other sum that may be sufficient, and give them to this fair lady to get her a husband; this, I repeat it, is my advice. The king repented afterwards, he did not follow this advice." But supposing this pretended match to be something more than a mere artifice of the lady's, I believe it miscarried through Henry IVth's fault rather than the duke of Sully's.

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the untimely birth of the infant by a storm, and other anecdotes of the same nature, capable of disgusting a delicate lover. Never before had I made a discourse so pathetic, nor, in my own opinion, so convincing: all my tenderness for the honour of this prince was alarmed by the shame I saw ready to overwhelm him; I entreated, I implored every power of persuasion I had; I was not discouraged by an ineffectual attempt: again I returned to the charge; my zeal became persecution; and sometimes carried me out of myself, as it did in a conversation we had in the garden, belonging to the conciergerie at Fontainebleau, where we spoke so loud, as to be heard by Bastien and Brunault.

NOTHING certainly was ever more singular or incomprehensible; a prince, whose great qualities might serve for a model for other monarchs to form themselves upon, reduces us to the necessity of either throwing a veil over one part of that heroic mind, or of confessing that it dishonours the other. I take, without hesitation, this last path, while I lament the force of human frailty, for I hold myself under an obligation to do it; and should think I had laboured but by halves for the instruction of mankind in general, and of princes in particular, if I threw any part of this picture into shade. I therefore open to them the recesses of that heart, where so much greatness was blended with so much weakness, that, by the contrast, each may become more conspicuous; and that they may be upon their guard against that dangerous passion, so capable of inspiring shameful affections, and of tainting their souls with vices abhorred before; mean artifices, cowardly fears, jealousy, rancour, rage, and even perjury and lies. Yes, I repeat it again, perjury and lies; Henry, that man on every other occasion so upright, so open, so sincere, became acquainted with all these vices, when he abandoned himself to love. I often found that he deceived me by false confidences, when he was under no obligation to enter into true ones; that he feigned returns to reason, and resolutions that his heart rejected; in a word, that he pretended to be ashamed of his fetters, when he secretly vowed never to break them.

IT was but too true, that he was infected with that jealousy his mistress publicly reproached him with. This was easy to be perceived by the efforts he made to supplant rivals, whom he was too weak to despise, and too timid to punish. *Aut César, aut nihil*, says he in one of his letters to me. What a strange contrast of caprices and extravagances! He was convinced that the marchioness of Verneuil

1604. had recourse to the affectation of devotion to conceal her libertinism ; and this conviction pierced his heart with a thousand cruel and insupportable wounds ; but he felt, no less forcibly, the delight which the desire of triumphing over a real devotion gives to a depraved heart.

ONE of those caprices which most surprised me, and persuaded me that it was absolutely impossible to cure this unhappy prince, was, that at those very times when he appeared most cool and indifferent in all he said of his mistress, yet the letters he wrote to be shewn to her, expressed quite contrary sentiments. I have made the same observation of the marchioness, but with less surprise. It must be therefore, that these lovers, amidst the wildest transport of their anger, could not hinder themselves from still depending a little upon the latent tenderness of each other ; and that their tenderness still subsisted without their perceiving it themselves : or that the king, ingenious in finding out methods to debase himself, had a long time before furnished his mistress with arms against him, which he would not oblige her to make use of, by driving her to extremities : or lastly, and this is the least unfavourable judgment that can be formed of this prince, that some private transactions had passed between them, which Henry, through regret or shame, could not resolve to impart to me, or to any one whatever.

I HAVE thrown together all that relates to the present subject, although part of the facts, as has been seen, such as the seizing of the count d'Auvergne, and the process carried on against his family, did not happen till towards the end of the year, that I might not be obliged to interrupt the narration so frequently *. I shall resume it at the

* I here subjoin an anecdote of Vittorio Siri's, relating to the amours of Henry IV. and the conspiracy of the count of Auvergne. This writer asserts, *Mem. second. vol. I. p. 297*, that one object of this conspiracy was to seize the king's person, by laying an ambuscade for him, and then putting him to death ; and that d'Entragues, who had undertaken the execution of this project, intended to make use of the passion he had discovered the king to have newly conceived for his second daughter, who is represented as much handsomer than her sister, to draw him into the snare. He therefore sent his wife to fetch her away from Fontainebleau, making no question but the king would expose himself to any

danger to come to see her at Malesherbes, which place is but three leagues distant from that palace : and truly, Henry immediately sent message after message to mademoiselle d'Entragues, by some of his courtiers disguised in the habit of peasants. Her answer to which was, that she was so closely watched, that there was not the least probability of her being able to see the king. At last he could not forbear going there in person, accompanied by marshal Bassompierre ; and not daring to go into the house for fear of being discovered, he was obliged to content himself with speaking to her at the window of a lower room : he wrote to her every day, and sent her verses of gallantry, which he got the best beginning

beginning of the following year, that we may see the event, after I have given, in this, an account of some other matters very different from those I have been treating. 1604.

poets of the court to compose for him. At last they agreed to meet one another on a day appointed, at a certain place, in a meadow named by the king, where they might be at full liberty, and where he promised to come in disguise. D'Entragues seemed to be entirely ignorant of all this contrivance; but either having mentioned to his daughter, or accidentally given her some reason to suspect, his design, whether she really loved the king, or was apprehensive of the consequences, she broke off the appointment, and took other precautions against the danger to which Henry IV. was going to expose himself on her account. The king, wearied out by so many obstacles to his wishes, renewed his amour with the marchioness of Verneuil; and, if we may believe Siri, often was exposed to the same dangers with her: one day in particular, as he was going in disguise from Fontainebleau to visit her at Verneuil, he so narrowly avoided falling into the hand of fifteen or sixteen of D'Entrague's relations, who were upon the watch for him in the fields, in order to assassinate him, that his escaping them may be considered as a particular instance of his good fortune. But, as these circumstances are not taken notice of in any memoirs of credit of those times, they seem to be only some of those strokes,

with which a foreigner, on the authority of popular report, may think he has a right to enliven his subject.

Mademoiselle d'Entragues, of whom we have been speaking, seems to be her of Henry the IVth's mistresses, whom he has celebrated under the name of Lisa: and there are still some original pieces of poetry in being which he sent her; amongst others a sonnet, of which I shall only repeat the four first verses:

*Je ne sçais par où commencer,
A louer votre grande beauté;
Car il n'est rien, ni n'a été,
Que vous ne puissiez effacer, &c.*

What tongue can tell, what words express,

The beauties of thy charming face;
Since all we've seen, and all we see,
Appears but as a foile to thee, &c.

What follows is in the same strain. Though there is a remark at the head of this sonnet, of the hand-writing of Henry IV. that it was made by Collin, a poet whose pen that prince often was pleased to make use of in works of this kind, these compositions are neither too correct, nor too poetical, to prevent our believing Henry himself might be the author of them, or at least in some degree concerned in them.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XIX.

1604. **T**HE king, from the year 1602, looking out for a safe and convenient place where he might lay up his revenues, and the money which he set apart for the execution of his designs, fixed upon the Bastile, where he ordered chests to be made, and all other necessary conveniences : for this article he was obliged to publish a regulation that might bring this new disposition of money into method, to prevent the confusion of different offices, and to hinder the receivers from being entangled with the chamber of accounts : the regulation was thus.

No money was to be carried to the Bastile but that which remained clear in the king's hands ; all charges, both ordinary and extraordinary, being first taken out of the revenues of the quarter in which they fell. The money was put into the hands of the treasurer in office, in the presence of the superintendant of the finances, and the comptroller-general, who at that time was John de Vienne ; the comptroller and I had each of us a key, and the treasurer had likewise a third ; when his year of office was over he received a certificate, signed by me and Vienne, of the sums that had been put in the king's chests during his administration ; this he put into the hands of his successor, and received from him an acquittance, which he was at liberty to shew as his discharge. The new

new treasurer had a right to know whether the certificate was exact, by inspecting the money contained in the treasury; upon this acquittance, the treasurer was authorised to draw up his account, which the chamber of accounts was obliged to pass without further examination.

1604.

HIS majesty was of opinion, that he ought early to publish his intentions and justify his conduct, both with respect to that accumulation of riches, and to the changes which had been already made, and which were still to be made in the finances. This was done in a council extraordinarily assembled for this purpose. The chancellor received from the king, and published, the list of those who were to compose the council, consisting of deputies of the sovereign courts of Paris, named by his majesty, the principal members of his council, and the chief administrators of justice, the revenues, and police. They met on the appointed day in the great closet of the Louvre, which is at the end of the guard-room, joining that of the king's chamber. When they were all assembled the king came in, and having ordered the whole assembly to be seated, he explained to them the motives of his conduct, in a discourse of which this is the substance: The civil wars, he told them, had reduced the revenues of the kingdom to such a state, that the annual income was scarce sufficient to clear the annual debt; and it was necessary therefore to improve the state of affairs, not only by enquiries and prosecutions, which had already so far benefited the nation, that it was cleared of part of the debt, but likewise to form new funds, that if there should either happen a war of consequence, or a troublesome minority, the king might neither be obliged to become bankrupt, nor to let public affairs sink into their former confusion, to support the expences which could not otherways be raised for this purpose; that the best use was to be made of peaceable times, in which there was nothing of that kind to be dreaded; that the means necessary to this, which however should be practised, without doing any mischief by precipitation, were the extinction of revenues granted by the state on several pretences, the reimbursement of offices, and the resumption of crown-lands that had been given away.

HIS majesty was resolved to begin by examining the several grants of revenues; and this was to be entered upon this very year: upon this head he let fall an expression to prepare their minds for the just severity of this procedure, by saying, that in the first place he should endeavour to make a rigorous discrimination between those that had really paid in money the principal of the arrears, which they were
 1 now

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now receiving back from the king's revenues, and those who had made false claims upon the king. Henry added, that he reckoned so much upon the œconomy with which he intended to manage his revenues for the time to come, that he considered a design which required the amassing of large sums in the treasury, as by no means inconsistent with his purpose of easing the people by lessening the taxes, which he should always keep before his eyes. He exhorted the assembly to assist such just and upright intentions, and directed that they should twice a day, during eight days, deliberate maturely upon this proposition, and at the end of that time, should lay before him the result of their deliberation. He promised to follow any good scheme that should be offered, with the same sincerity which he had discovered in imparting his own; and not to forget those who should give proofs on this occasion of their regard for the public.

ASSEMBLIES of this kind are, in my opinion, not to be condemned, even when they are only called to keep up a form which may be of no great use, since they serve, it may be said, no other purposes than to notify to the ministers, with less appearance of absolute power, the decrees of the prince already fixed in a secret council. This very assembly did not escape this reflection; the proposal of the king, though in itself unquestionably just and beneficial to the community, did not meet with the more approbation for its usefulness. I know not what will be said on this occasion by the assertors of the authority of the people, but I for my part am of opinion, that as multitudes of instances like this sufficiently prove, that the designs of a good and wise king must not be at all times, and in every situation, the same with those of the people. The considerations which regulate popular opinions are seldom free from interest or passion, and never, or almost never, reach farther than the present. Those who judge best are themselves deceived by their own sense of interest, and seem, one by one, to have determined, though they will not confess, and perhaps do not know it, to procure their own satisfaction, without any care about the future.

THIS corruption arises from the desire, natural to man, of present happiness; and unhappily it falls out in government as in policy, that there may be just reasons for deferring this completion of felicity for ten, twenty, or fifty years, and sometimes for a longer time. What means can be contrived to make this delay not offensive to the common people, and even to those who, tho' they have more knowledge, have

the same passions with the vulgar. The case is otherwise with a wise and good king, or with a minister who represents him, and performs the acts of government. His inclinations, it is true, ought to be directed to the good of the subjects, but he always knows, that by catching too soon at happiness it is almost always missed, and that there is no proportion between the real evils into which men are plunged by such mistaken precipitations, and the vexations merely ideal and imaginary, which are complained of by those that think they want something. Happy is the public when it is governed by such principles of policy, as put it in the way to tranquillity; all regard to short-lived and transitory advantage is cast aside in consideration of general good, and a wise king is not less a father of those subjects who shall live at the distance of three or four generations, than of those who live in his own time; and considers the false tenderness which he might have shewn to his own time, at the expence of succeeding ages, as the partiality of a father in favour of some of his children, which is to end in the ruin of his family.

THE scheme, which Henry had formed for the interest of his kingdom, making it necessary that he should take all measures to encrease his revenues, instead of making all those defalcations about which some who pretended great zeal for his service were continually talking to him, he required my private advice. The advance which I had made in the knowledge of the finances enabled me to discover some sources of large profit which would very little burthen the people; of these I put nine into a memorial which I presented to his majesty, as follows.

1. THE contractors who in late times managed the chief farms of the revenue, had, under pretence of several employments which they represented as necessary, misapplied the money which they had received, and made those sums pass in their accounts, to the ruin of the exchequer, which was represented as having received them, though not a penny came to it. By this article alone the crown was robbed of several millions. Of these accounts and details I therefore demanded an exact revisal, that I might lay hold on the contractors, who had not been able so completely to conceal themselves under the different names by which they carried on their robberies, but that I should be able to trace them.

2. THE clergy of France had, by the mouths of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, accused Castille, their receiver-general, of having detained their money. The petition which had been presented to me,

1604. was accompanied with an account of the articles of accusation so positively and clearly stated, that nothing remained but that the king should reclaim the immense sum which the receiver appeared to have embezzled.

3. ALL the managers of the finances, and the people of business, particularly the treasurers of France, who had contributed much to the ruin of the finances, might be associated with Castille, by the erection of a chamber of justice; which must produce great advantages, if private intrigues and secret artifices could be kept out, by which these enquiries are often defeated.

4. THE abuses in the alienation of the king's lands were so gross, that many of those who had them in their hands held them by mere usurpation, without any title; and the others had them at a price so scandalously low, that they were repaid by the income of the very first year at six *per cent.* which was the interest then current. Of this I made his majesty fully sensible, who would not suffer these alienations to be exactly verified, that he might be drawn to consent to the resumption of all those possessions, or to some measures for obliging the possessors to pay the true price.

5. IN the other offices and employments there was the same corruption to be removed by the same means; the persons in possession were to be obliged to supply the deficiencies of their first payment in proportion to their salaries, or to give back their employments for the same sum for which they had purchased them.

6. THE debts due to the Swiss Cantons were, by a bad regulation, so far from being lessened, that they had been always encreasing. I had already made such an alteration in that part of our affairs, that by the seasonable payment of one million, I had obtained an acquittance of eight; half of it reckoned to the principal and half to the arrears; and by taking the same method with the rest, the public was soon cleared of that debt.

7. AS it was easy for the king to recover the possession of the crown lands that were alienated, so it was of great advantage to him to alienate I know not how many little parts of them, consisting in ground-rents, and particular claims, of which the expences for repairs, leases, and receiving, sometimes under pretence of prosecutions, sometimes of drawbacks, and improvements, were risen, by the connivance of the
treasurers

1604.

treasurers of the finances, who alone made their advantage of them, to such a prodigious height, that according to a calculation which I made, by reckoning ten years, one with another, a fifth part must have been added, before a single penny could come to the king. This was the chief source of plunder to the officers of the revenue. By alienating all these parts at the rate for money settled by the last edict, the king would be more than doubly a gainer, because he might buy with the money which this rate would bring in, those parts of this revenue which were mortgaged at *ten per cent.*

8. THE profit was yet greater with respect to the resumption of the royal revenues that had been alienated; some of the contractors had offered me to purchase them back to the king for forty millions, without obliging him to repay any part of the sum, provided he would let them take their choice of the part to be purchased, and allow them to enjoy them for a certain number of years, after which they would restore them to the crown clear of all debts and incumbrance. The king, instead of accepting their proposal, had nothing to do but to get himself the money which they would have gotten by the bargain.

9. FRANCE had in her hand an infallible power to draw unto herself all the commerce of the Ocean and Mediterranean, and to see them, without any great expence, in the middle of her provinces: all this would cost her nothing but the labour of cutting a canal from the Seine to the Loire, from the Loire to the Saone, and from the Saone to the Meuse*; and the first glance of this project presents us with

* Before the duke of Sully came into the ministry, it had never been thought of in France to derive any advantage from the rivers; to which, nevertheless, it must be owned, the kingdom is indebted for its wealth and commerce. He began with the canal of Briare, but was not able to proceed farther. Perhaps nothing will contribute so much to render the reign of Lewis the Great immortal, as that wonderful canal for joining the two seas: the great benefits resulting to the nation from these undertakings, so happily executed, passing over the example Holland affords us, points out to us what remains to be farther done, and at the same time proves, that however difficult attempts of this nature may appear,

they are yet far from being impossible.

The joining rivers, and making roads, which render the communication either of different provinces, or different parts of the same province, more easy and commodious, are perhaps the two most important objects to which a wise government can apply its attention in time of peace; and by employing the soldiery, who are at such times useless, or that prodigious number of beggars, who are always so, in performing works of this nature, they will be executed at a moderate expence. Idleness, which generally makes beggars and vagabonds turn thieves and robbers, at the same time will be banished from the nation, and commerce introduced into every part of it.

1604: more than two millions a year, which we should get from Spain alone; and which would be real and solid wealth, as all that is which is produced by commerce.

I ENTERED into a long series of particulars, when I gave in my report to the king; and I accompanied it with a paper, in which I cleared up the reality of some of the revenues which were not comprised in these articles. The prince, who to be sure expected a very different scheme, and whose natural liveliness of temper kept him from attending to my discourse so closely as was necessary, at first raised a thousand difficulties to all my designs; he said, that indeed the schemes were great, but some of them were wild and unsettled; others of no great profit; some difficult to be executed, and some hard to be made consistent with each other. All this was because he did not understand them. I knew well enough what his majesty was wanting, and what proposal would have suited his inclination: an augmentation of the customs, creation of new offices, or a further alienation of his crown lands: if I would have shewn him a scheme which I had myself drawn up upon these means of raising money, I might have brought fourscore millions of ready coin into his coffers; besides sixty millions more, by letting a lease of five millions a year, to which I had raised six of his farms above their former value. But I easily brought the king to allow, that though these methods were easily practicable, they were at the same time very burthensome to the people; that we ought not to have recourse to them but in the most pressing exigences; and that the leisure of a time of peace should be employed in carrying on measures that required more time and application. Such were the nine schemes that I had laid before him, of which I assured him, that although he seemed to rate them at so little, that if they were skilfully managed and brought on one after another, they would in time make him richer than he was by two hundred millions.

THE king fell into my opinion, and we determined to begin by the re-establishment of the public revenue, when I had shewn, by good

It is necessary there should be some principal center for the riches of a nation; but nevertheless other cities should not fall a sacrifice to the capital; which being in the body politic, what the heart is in the human body, constantly receiving the blood, and as constantly propelling it, even to the most extreme parts, they cannot be deprived of it without bringing a languor on the

whole machine. Much trouble might be saved in studying the nature of those secret springs which give motion to the most minute branches of commerce, were due attention given to that simple and obvious principle, of only supplying the country people with the means of living in ease and plenty.

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extracts and authentic papers out of the chamber of accounts, the court of aids, and other offices, that this regulation would, without the least injustice, bring six millions into the royal treasury. He engaged in this afterwards so warmly, that he shewed the highest impatience to begin, and never writ me a letter in which he did not mention it. To succeed in this, I thought it necessary that a new council or office should be erected: to this an opposition was made by the chamber of accounts, but no regard was had to their arguments. This council was composed of Chateau-neuf, Calignon, and Jeannin, the presidents De Thou and Tambonneau alternately, and of Rebours; a treasurer, and a register, who were Le-Gras, and Regnouard; and I was the chief of it, and present at it as often as my other business would give me leave; but whether I was there or not every thing went forward according to a scheme which I had drawn as the rule * of their operations. All our proceedings would be tedious to relate, it is sufficient to say, that I had made a clear and exact distinction between the grants made at different times and from different funds; some had been bought for the payment of the third part of their price in ready money, some for half, others for the whole sum; there were some that had cost their possessors very little, some were obtained by mere fraud, and others honestly procured; these last were never touched otherwise than to settle them more securely according to their original condition; as for the rest, according to the degree of fraud and injustice with which they had been procured, we either struck them entirely off, or ordered the full purchase to be paid; there were some, of which the possessors were obliged to pay back the arrears, which they had so unjustly got into their possession; and others, who for having embezzled the arrears were obliged to deduct them from the principal, which it was so much easier to pay off. The public gained another advantage, by suppressing a number of receivers of the revenue, who were an useless burden upon it, and of whom I left only one remaining.

THE enquiry which I had schemed out against monopolizers and officers of the revenue was afterwards carried on by the erection of a chamber of justice; but as the corrupt management of solicitation and intercession was not cut off, nothing was produced, but the common consequence, the chief criminals escaped, and those who were less considerable suffered all the severity of the law: some remedy was found

* A more particular detail is given of these regulations in the old Memoirs; those concerned in the revenue may there have an opportunity of consulting them.

1604.

for this abuse, at least in the time immediately following my enquiry ; for I took great care, that when any man was found guilty of corruption he should be immediately punished. Exact information was given of those that were committed at Rouen. Mankind now began to give to all these strokes of art the name that they deserved ; and those unlawful gains which had so long impoverished France, and enriched the officers of the revenue, were treated, without ceremony, as robbery and rapine ; and honesty began to shew her head in a sanctuary where she had never resided before.

THE treasurers of France having this year presented their accounts full of blanks for nonpayment, I could think of no better method to cure them of a practice which I very much suspected of dishonesty, than to assign them these pretended blanks for the payment of their next year's wages. The removal of Drouart, whose place was given to Montauban, and some other strokes of the same kind, taught the chief of these men of business to do their duty, and to do it well. By a decree passed against one Le-Roi, they were forbidden, under a penalty of an hundred thousand livres, to take any foreigner as a partner in the king's farms. This decree was declared in the name of Charles Du-Han, farmer-general of the five great farms, to the chief persons interested in the revenue, and the other farms of the king at Paris, and the other principal cities in the kingdom.

I COMPLAINED to the king of an invasion made by the parliament of Toulouse on his authority, by forbidding of any corn to be carried out of the province of Languedoc. I was informed of this by the treasurers of the province, because it threatened the ruin of the foreign customs, the farmers of which demanded a very considerable abatement : it likewise reduced both the galleys and the garrisons into difficulties, as they were generally victualled from that part of the kingdom.

THE four hundred thousand livres raised by augmenting the taille, into which half of the tax of a penny in the shilling had been changed, continued still to be paid ; as likewise the other half, laid upon merchandises : though the edict by which these taxes were established was settled but for two years. The officers of the revenue made representations to the king upon this account : they complained of the low value to which certain farms were fallen which depended upon commerce with Spain, by the prohibition of that trade, as well as by the multiplicity of edicts daily issued by the council, and which they re-

presented as more dangerous to the public, than the *taille* itself. I 1604.
 allow, for my part, that their complaints were just, and had myself remonstrated to the king long before them. He had written two letters upon this subject, one to the council, in which he shewed them, that the present state of affairs, and particularly the armament of Spain, did not allow him to make any abatement in his revenues for the present year; and the other to me, to prevail upon the council to come into his opinion.

I GAVE him what assistance was in my power, as grand master of the ordnance. The arsenal was at that time stored with an hundred pieces of cannon; there were in the galleries, small arms for fifteen thousand foot, and three thousand horse; and in the Temple and at the Bastile, were two millions of pounds of powder, and a hundred thousand bullets. I remember, that one day as Henry was walking with me in the Arsenal, he seemed alarmed at the number and power of the enemies that threatened him: but I shewed him the formidable store, by which he would be able to bring them all to terms. He then demanded a list of his arms, ammunition, and artillery, with a summary account of his ready money, and what could be added to it, in the years 1605 and 1606. He entered into my cabinet, and made my secretaries write these minutes, that he might have them always in his pocket.

THE regulation and discipline of the soldiers was an article of government most necessary to be considered in order to its reformation. It is hard to conceive, that, in a nation that from its first establishment has been engaged in war, and has indeed pursued no other trade than that of arms, no care should have been hitherto taken to form and methodise them. Whatever related to the soldiery of France, was offensive and disgusting. The foot soldiers were enlisted by violence, and made to march by a cudgel, their pay was unjustly withheld, they heard of nothing but a prison, and had nothing before their eyes but a gibbet. This treatment drove them into all methods of desertion, which was prevented only by the *prevots*, who kept them in their camp like men besieged: the officers themselves being ill paid, had some kind of right to violence and plunder. Henry would often say, and he spoke according to his own experience, that the public could never be well served, till the troops were put into another state.

1604.

THE first point, on which this new regulation must depend, was exactness of payments, which the king began by settling it so, that, for the future, it could neither be delayed, nor the money appointed for it applied to any other use. This regulation was followed by another equally just and equally proper to reconcile the mind to the trade of arms: by this there was a provision made for the relief of soldiers, when, by wounds or sickness contracted in the service, they were unable to live either by war or labour: things were managed so, that, in this state of misery, they wanted nothing, either for their living or their cure*.

THE liberty with which I have told the king's faults gives me a right to praise him for his good qualities. He was born with the virtues and method of œconomy, and therefore practised them without any constraint: particular details of business were to him merely an amusement. The princes that engage personally in the administration of government, fall commonly into one of these two inconveniences; either they are incapable of submitting to moderate views, or they cannot raise themselves into any elevation. The mind of Henry adapted itself with the same easiness to things small or great, of which his letters give sufficient evidence, and a way that was then used of applying to him immediately, sometimes for mere trifles, shew it still more plainly. There had been long due two hundred and fifty crowns to a wine merchant of Gisors, who had formerly furnished the household with wine. His majesty sent me to pay him, and to recompence him

* By the king's edict, dated the 7th of July 1605 (for possibly this affair could not be concluded till the year after) his majesty granted to the gentlemen, officers, and soldiers disabled in his service, the royal house of christian charity, built with the money arising from the surplus of the accounts of hospitals, alms-houses, and hospitals for lepers, &c. and from the pensions of lay-monks, and the oblates†: the superintendence of it belonged to the high constable of France. This establishment has since been changed, or rather totally abolished, by what Lewis the great substituted in its stead, in building and endowing the royal

hospital of Mars, or the Invalids, a monument alone sufficient to immortalise his memory. This house of christian charity was before this only an hospital, without any revenue belonging to it, built by Henry III. for maimed soldiers; it stood in the suburbs of Saint Marcellus, in the street called rue de l'Ourfine, and was ready to fall down. Two years after, Henry IV. also caused the hospital of Saint Lewis to be built; for this purpose, he granted to the Hôtel Dieu, ten sous on every minot‡ of salt, within the district of Paris, during fifteen years, and five sous for ever.

† Lay-Monks or oblates, were soldiers disabled in the king's service, who had the maintenance of a monk assigned to them on the revenues of an abbey, as a reward for their service.

‡ A minot of salt contains four French bushels, and is something less than an English bushel.

for the delay; "my conscience, says he, obliges me to pity that poor man." I have, perhaps, told too many of these kind of stories; but my book would make quite another kind of a figure, if I presented to the public all the letters which the king wrote to me.

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As to those other ideas that had a higher object, either of interest, of glory, or public happiness, the king never lost sight of them, either in his vexations or his pleasures: to see whether my ideas agreed with his, he made many enquiries; and concluded at last, that I should give him an enumeration of all those things, by which I thought the glory of a powerful kingdom might be destroyed or sullied. I thought there was no better way of complying with his intention, than that of presenting him a sketch, written with such simplicity, and with such few useless ornaments of style, that he might at once glance it over: it contained an enumeration, without proof or exposition, of those abuses which commonly find their way into public affairs. I here lay it before my readers, to whom it may serve as a compendium of the principles, which they have seen, and must expect to see, diffused through our Memoirs.

THE causes of the ruin or decline of monarchies are exorbitant subsidies, monopolies, chiefly those relating to corn; neglect of merchandise, trade, agriculture, arts, and manufactories; the great number of public employments, the fees, and excessive authority of men in office; the cost, the delay, and the injustice of tribunals; idleness, luxury, and all that is connected with it, debauchery and corruption of manners, confusion of ranks, changes of the value of money, unjust and imprudent wars, the despotic power of sovereigns, their blind adherence to particular persons, their prejudice in favour of particular conditions or professions; the greediness of ministers and favourites, the degradations of persons of quality; contempt and neglect of men of letters; the connivance at bad customs, and infraction of good laws; an obstinate adherence to customs, either mischievous or indifferent; and the multiplicity of edicts and useless regulations.

If I was to chuse among all the forms of government, of which this monarchy has furnished examples, I should propose Clovis, Charlemagne, Philip the august, and Charles * the sage; and I should wish that the

* It would perhaps have been still better, to have also rejected the three first of these, and kept only to Charles V. On examining the characters of Henry IV. and

the duke of Sully, we shall find the one acted on the principles of a Roman, the other on those of a true Spartan: the maxims here laid down discover a mixture of

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eye might never fall so low, as upon the reign of Charles VIII. and our times; and if I was to establish a single principle of government, it should be this, *That good laws and good manners produce each other.* But such is our unhappiness, that we never perceive this valuable connexion, till corruptions and abuses have been carried together to the highest points; so that among men, the principle of good arises always from the extremity of evil.

THE regulations, for the augmentation and securing of commerce, appearing to Henry to be of the first importance to the public, he laid out the greatest part of his care upon them. The project of the canal for joining the Seine to the Loire* being ratified, I removed myself to those parts, that there might be no mistake in the preparations that were previous to the execution; whether in taking heights, or levelling the ground, or laying hold of any advantages that might occur. I spent but little time in this journey, for the king recalled me as soon almost as I was gone. In the like manner I regulated several affairs of commerce in the journey I made to Poitou, as has been already related.

both these principles. I have observed before, what correctives were necessary to modify the too austere temper of the duke of Sully: I shall here take the same liberty with the too warlike disposition of Henry IV. A military spirit is undoubtedly necessary to defend a state; it ought therefore to be nourished with the utmost care; but it should notwithstanding be kept in the same state we do a mastiff, for the defence of our house, that is, chained up, and very seldom indulged with the liberty of pursuing its own course, lest it should turn upon its masters and tear them to pieces. The reputation alone of courage produces almost the same effect as the exertion of it can. It may be laid down as a principle, that there are no means but what are preferable to war, if the same end can be obtained by them.

* This is the canal of Briare, which from that little town runs to Montargis, about ten leagues distant from it. It was to have been continued to Moret; but this part of the design was left unexecuted, and the canal itself was neglected, after more than three hundred thousand crowns had been laid out upon it, through the malice

of those who envied M. de Rosny, or, according to Mezerai, through the change that happened in the ministry. This work was far advanced at that time; it has since been resumed, and at length finished. M. De Thou bestows great commendation on M. de Sully, for being the inventor of this design, b. cxxxii. A further proof of this may be drawn from the silver and copper plates, or a kind of medals found in 1737, when they were at work on the sluices in this canal, and which it was certainly wrong to take from thence. The count of Buron, one of the parties interested in this canal, sent the copper ones to the present duke of Sully, which are now in the duke's cabinet of medals, but kept the silver ones on account of their value. One of these copper medals is charged with the duke of Sully's arms, and another bears this inscription: 1607. Maximilian de Bethune, under the reign of Henry IV. by the hands of Messire Peter Ozon, at this time mayor and governor of Montargis-le-Franc. The duke of Sully, has also lately recovered part of the memorials and other writings relating to this canal.

OF these affairs, the most important and most perplexing, was an unforeseen quarrel which happened this year with Spain, concerning the mutual traffic carried on between the two nations. The king of Spain had, in the preceding year, laid a duty of thirty *per cent.* upon all French goods imported to Spain or Flanders; as likewise upon all goods exported from these two states into France; a heavy imposition, which was at once an insult upon our nation, tended to revolt the minds of his own subjects. The king returned it by expressly prohibiting all commerce with the subjects of Spain, and the arch-duchies, and by a duty still larger upon all the Spanish goods landed at Calais: but this prohibition could not prevent the fraudulent carriage of our provisions to the enemy's country. The French merchants, notwithstanding the new monopoly, still found there were such great profits to be made on our grain and other goods, from the scarcity of them in Spain, that they exposed themselves, for those profits, to all the rigour of the law; and, on that account, there was a kind of sedition raised in the city of Marseille, of which the president Du-Vair sent immediate notice to the court. The merchants of this city lost all patience, when they found themselves obliged to sit idle and inactive, while the Italians came and carried away their provisions, and deprived them of their usual profits. This permission, which was granted by his majesty to the Italians, was, in my opinion, ill judged.

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THE English were pleased at this new incident; and so far were they from endeavouring to accommodate the affair, that they secretly strove to make it worse, because they carried on the same trade fraudulently, which the Italians were authorised to do. It was discovered, that eight or nine English vessels had taken in their loadings of grain at Olone, and went from thence to Saint Sebastian, to disembark them: this, doubtless, was the resource the Spaniards depended upon, otherwise their prohibition would have fallen heavy upon themselves, which Henry, from the beginning, had flattered himself would happen: and it was the hope, that Spain would suffer more from it than we, joined to his solicitude to maintain the honour of his crown, that it might not be said his enemies could dispose of its commerce, which made him still require a strict observation of the prohibition he had published. He commanded me to send a person of probity and understanding, to visit all that part of the country, from the mouth of the Loire to the Garonne, and all along the borders of these two rivers, to see that this ordonnance was punctually obeyed; and he was empowered

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to punish all that should be found to have acted contrary to it; those being generally the places where such illegal practices were carried on. I gave this commission to La-Font, who executed it so well, that his majesty kept him afterwards about his own person.

HENRY, at the same time, ordered his ambassador in England, to complain to king James, of the practices of his subjects; and to give him to understand, that, if he made peace with Spain, with a view to appropriate to himself the trade we carried on with that kingdom, he would take such measures that France should not suffer alone, but that England should lose more by it than she. This was tacitly to desire, that he would offer his mediation to compose the difference between the two crowns; for Henry thought it probable, that the king of England might be tempted by the apparent advantage of such an accession to the trade of his kingdom, as to make peace with Spain; and he was now sensible, though too late, of the injury he had done himself, and that the arguments his council had made use of were all false: this threw him into great perplexity. Villeroi and Sillery were appointed by his majesty, to attend this affair with the utmost assiduity; and I likewise was ordered to confer about it with the constable, the chancellor, the commandeur de Chastes, and vice-admiral De Vic.

WE found many difficulties to struggle with on both sides. Trade must necessarily suffer great injury, if the prohibition remained in force; and if repealed, great shame must reflect upon the crown. Henry could not resolve to do any thing that, in his opinion, seemed to acknowledge his fears of Spain, which had not condescended to take any step that led towards an accommodation with him; and all that could be hoped for from his most Christian majesty was, that, although he suffered the prohibition to remain in force, he would wink at the infringement of it by the merchants, that he might be at liberty to repeat it again if they too openly abused this indulgence, to the prejudice of the royal authority: as for me, the wound that was given to trade, was the only thing almost that I considered; therefore, on this account, England and Spain were equal to me; and I represented to his majesty, that the damage we must inevitably sustain, made it necessary that he should use no more severity with the one than the other.

THE king of England did not refuse his mediation in this difference; he even offered to engage for the faithful performance of the promises
both

both parties should make on this occasion : but he affected to act as an arbitrator between the two crowns ; and the king, offended with his vanity, would not accept of his mediation, but in the quality of a common friend. The Pope likewise began to interest himself greatly in the dispute, being apprehensive that a more dangerous rupture might ensue between France and Spain. He wrote to cardinal Bufalo, his nuncio in France, to use his utmost endeavours to prevent it ; and this cardinal, a short time afterwards, found a favourable opportunity to obey him.

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THE count of Beaumont, who still continued to be our ambassador at the court of London, had often mentioned the late dispute concerning our trade, in the presence of the counts de Villa-mediana and d'Arenberg, the one ambassador from the king of Spain, the other from the archdukes ; and had even drawn up a kind of an agreement with their concurrence, together with that of the president Richardot, and Lewis Vroeylzen, which had been communicated to the constable of Castile, who was likewise at London : but his sudden departure, together with some other difficulties that came in the way, hindered this matter from proceeding so far as to get the preliminary of this agreement signed. The constable of Castile passed through Paris, and had an interview there with cardinal Bufalo, who pressed him so earnestly, and upon so many motives concerning this affair, that he obtained a promise from him that it should be referred to the examination of some commissioners, whom he named for the king his master : the council of France appointed some on their side. But this method of proceeding was not likely to bring the affair to a conclusion, which, by being submitted to so many arbitrators, was protracted to an insufferable length. Bufalo prevailed upon Don Baltasar Stuniga, the Spanish ambassador in France, and upon Alexander Rovidius, a senator of Milan, who were interested in a cause for one of the parties, to refer every thing relating to it to him ; this done, that the business might on the side of the other party be wholly consigned to one person, he desired the king to give me a power equal to his, and without any second : from that time, the affair was thought to be in great forwardness. I went to visit the cardinal, and animated his zeal by a new incitement, telling him, that we were upon the point of declaring war, and that his majesty was busied in making great preparations for it. In a few days I prevailed upon him to agree to the articles I had drawn up, by which the freedom of trade was secured : these articles were almost the same with those that had been proposed and discussed at London.

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THE substance of this treaty, for such it became afterwards, although every thing had been agreed on only between cardinal Bufalo and myself, was, that the edict of thirty *per cent.* and that for the suspension of trade between the two crowns of France and Spain, should be and continue repealed; this was the great point. But the two princes having both endeavoured to justify their conduct by many reciprocal complaints against each other, which likewise related to the trade of their kingdoms; many other articles were added, that tended to remove these grievances.

IT was specified, that his most Christian majesty should publish an edict, forbidding all his subjects either to export or authorise the exportation of any Dutch goods into Spain, or any state under the dominion of that crown, by lending of vessels, waggons, or any other sort of carriages; that the real French goods should be stamped with the seal of the city which furnished them, and should be inserted in a register: this was done with a view to obviate the inconveniences which might arise from a resemblance in the goods, which otherways should be liable to confiscation; but they were not upon a bare suspicion of fraud to stop or retard the exportation of these goods; that all the Dutch, who were taken in French vessels, should be seized; that the French should not carry Spanish goods into any part of the Low Countries, but those that should be specified in the bills; and that, to prevent any breach of faith, they should enter into an obligation in writing before the Spanish magistrate of the place from whence they set out, to pay the thirty *per cent.* which obligation should be returned to them upon their bringing back, within a year, a certificate from the magistrate of the place where they disembarked, either in France, or in any part of Flanders where trade was permitted; that the king of France should order all Spanish goods to be seized, which were brought by his subjects in Spain, to be carried into any of the prohibited places, half of which should be given to the informer, the thirty *per cent.* deducted: that the French magistrate, who should be convicted of having given false certificates of discharge, should be prosecuted and punished; and that the two kings should mutually engage to leave the places of passage free. The article of the imposts, which ever since the peace of Vervins, were laid upon goods carried from Spain to Flanders, or from Flanders to Spain through Calais, and when they entered this port, having been already settled in the presence of this cardinal, nothing remained to be added to it. It was stipulated, that forty days after the

date

date of this treaty, it should be published in the respective states on the same day : it was dated the 12th of October, and signed at first 1604. only by cardinal Bufalo and me *.

ALTHOUGH I was very sure that Henry would approve of this treaty, as he had been first consulted upon every article in it, yet I was apprehensive of the evils of Sillery and the other commissioners, from whom the cognisance of this affair had been taken : the expedient I made use of therefore was, to send Arnaud the elder with the articles to Sillery, with a civil request that he would give me his opinion of them. Sillery, without looking into them, answered quick, that the affair was in very good hands, and that the person who had transacted it alone might also conclude it alone. This answer would not satisfy me ; I sent Arnaud back again to tell him, that it appeared to me necessary that the treaty should be signed by him and the other commissioners first named, and that I entreated he would come to my house and sign it ; but that if he refused, I could not dispense with myself from sending the treaty to his majesty by Arnaud ; letting him know at the same time, that the difficulty he made in signing it would delay the conclusion for two days : and this was no more than the truth. Sillery, being afraid that if any accident should happen during this interval that might prevent this agreement on trade from taking effect, he should be answerable for it, went to cardinal Bufalo's house and signed the treaty, as did also Villeroi.

THE king, when he received a copy of these articles, confirmed by these free signatures, bestowed great praises on the cardinal nuncio, and made him a present of a cross of diamonds ; he recommended him to the Pope, in a letter which was conceived in terms very advantageous for him, and honoured him with the distinction of eating at his table. His majesty would not publish the treaty of commerce till the ratification of it arrived from Spain, but he still secretly permitted the exportation of grain, which was what the people ardently desired.

ABOUT this time another treaty was concluded at London between England and Spain, in which France could not avoid interesting her-

* See the treaty itself in the *Chronologie Septennaire*. The king gives the marquis de Rosny no other titles in it but that of great master and captain-general of the ordinance of France. Cardinal Bufalo did not

sign it, but only messieurs de Rosny and de Sillery ; Don Balthazar de Cuniga, for the king of Spain ; and the senator Rovidius. *Matthieu*, vol. II. b. iii. p. 655.

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self greatly, after what had passed the preceding year between her and England. To be thoroughly informed of this treaty, it is necessary to represent the affairs, both political and military, in Spain and Flanders, with which those of England have in this respect an unavoidable connection.

THE siege of Ostend continued to be still carried on with the same obstinacy by the Spaniards: in the mean time, the prince of Orange, at the beginning of the campaign, attacked the isle of Cadfan, which he made himself master of on the 10th of May, and afterwards of all the neighbouring forts, designing to open himself a way from thence to the frontier of Calais; and at length laid siege to Sluys. From Bruges the king received advices, that the arch-duke, who beheld this attempt with grief, was gone to assemble fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with whom he hoped to succour this place, by storming Ardembourg, which covered it; but that Maurice had so well intrenched himself there, that it was not believed he could be forced out, provided he had a sufficient number of men to guard his intrenchments: the Flemish general took likewise the precaution to carry his trenches as far as Ardembourg, that if he should be obliged to draw off his troops from the operations of the siege, he might be in a condition to reduce the place by famine, if he could not by force. Sluys surrendered on the 10th of August.

THE Spaniards, animated by the vigorous resistance of their enemies, and a sense of the prodigious losses they had suffered before Ostend, thought their honour still more concerned after this success of the prince of Orange, to prevent their being foiled in an enterprise which had lasted so long. De-Vic informed his majesty by D'Auval, who was returned from England, that he had caused three mines to be blown up before Ostend, but without success: however, it is certain, that Ostend was reduced to the last extremity; the Spaniards boasted that they would take it before the end of July; and that they should still have time to go and deliver Sluys with all their forces re-united. No one gave credit to this boast, especially when Persi le riche, captain of the regiment of Nerestan, who came lately from that place, said positively at Paris, that it would still hold out six weeks or two months. In effect, Sluys surrendered before Ostend, for the Flemings defended themselves with a courage that has few examples: they were seconded by a reinforcement of eleven companies, which made

made up between a thousand and twelve hundred men, all fresh, which had been just sent them by the States, under the conduct of general Marquette. They fell upon an expedient to make an inner intrenchment, which might enable them, when reduced to a necessity of capitulation, to obtain more advantageous terms, by holding out there; and they found means, pressed as they were, to throw in ammunitions and money.

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THIS was a new and surprising spectacle for all Europe, that a little state, which forms but a scarce perceptible point in the map, should dare to raise her head from the midst of her marshes, and brave, during so long a time, the formidable power of Spain. It is surprising to think where they found forces, or funds to pay them, for it was computed that this war cost the States twenty thousand florins a day; the perplexities to which they were often reduced were not indeed known; they hardly any longer knew to whom they should have recourse, and were obliged to apply to every one for relief. The duke of Bouillon having promised them a sum of money, they sent captain Sarroques to receive it; but he came back without any thing, but the regret of having put his masters to the expence of four or five thousand florins, which their compliments to the princess of Orange cost them.

HENRY was their usual resource: sometimes they requested an hundred thousand crowns; at other times, two hundred thousand weight of powder, for they consumed great quantities of it: there was no end of their demands. Buzenval, whom his majesty ordered to reside in those cantons, to give him an account of all that passed, was of great use to them in supporting their solicitations with the king, who at length was the only power that continued to be their friend, when all the others had abandoned them. The Dutch expressed great fondness for Buzenval, and kept him amongst them as it were by force when he was recalled home. And who indeed was there whom they did not soothe, and endeavour to engage in their interests? They would have made me a very considerable present, but Buzenval, whom they acquainted with their design, assured them I would not accept of it: and they contented themselves with offering me, by Aërsens, some curious pieces of shell-work, and some coach-horses of their country for my wife. Henry shewed a readiness to oblige them, which could not proceed from self-interested motives, and which, with that people, ought to have given him the merit of one of the founders of their liberty. They must be ungrateful in the highest degree, if they ever

1604. abandon a crown to which they owe such great obligations *. Henry wrote to me this year, when I was in Poitou, that Buzenval had made him new requests in favour of the States, which probably it was not prudent to grant; but that he could not resolve to abandon them, whatever reports might be raised in England, or whatever threats Spain might throw out against him.

IT is easy to judge what the present war must have cost Spain, which was in effect the assailant, by what I have just related of the United Provinces, who kept themselves merely upon the defensive, and did not stir from their own doors; and the resentment that Spain preserved against us. The council of Madrid, enraged at the losses they sustained by a war that had almost drained their treasury, which, however, they concealed with the utmost care, often threatened never to forgive the treatment they received from the French. Henry affected to be ignorant of these threats, and he acted wisely; the council, by this impotent anger, shewed its own weakness; and it was well known in France, that his Catholic majesty's revenues were exhausted.

OSTEND † was taken at length on the 22d of September, and Henry had the consolation to see, that for five or six hundred thousand crowns, which this expedition had cost him every year since it first began, he had considerably advanced the ruin of his enemies the Spaniards.

IT might reasonably be expected, that the treaty I had negotiated with England the preceding year would have produced greater things. Spain was convinced that she should lose Flanders entirely, if she did not find means to make some change in those dispositions in which I had left the king of Great Britain. After my departure, therefore, from London, she renewed her intrigues and solicitations to obtain at least a neutrality in what concerned the United Provinces, if she could not bring his Britannic majesty over to her party. The Spaniards, at first, thought they ought to make very high demands; and afterwards their offers also were as high to procure a grant of part of those demands. Their first proposals were rejected without being examined; but these were followed by another, which gave them hopes that they should prevail upon the English to abandon the Dutch, knowing they

* Grotius speaks of it almost in the same words, in his book, intitled, The annals and history of the troubles in the Netherlands.

† See the surrender of Ostend and Sluys, and the other actions of this campaign, in De Thou, the Septen. Matthieu, Siri, and other historians, an. 1604.

had nothing so much at heart ; this was to make the Indian trade free to both nations. But this offer proved ineffectual, because Spain, foreseeing that there would be still a necessity of abating something in her demands, added a condition that destroyed its force, and required, that England should enter into a league offensive and defensive with her. The king of England's council having many strong reasons for rejecting this alliance, made no scruple to confess, that it was the interest of their crown to support Holland, instead of openly taking part with her enemies.

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It was now absolutely believed, that the Spaniards had nothing to hope for from England : Beaumont was the only one that was of a contrary opinion, and foretold, that notwithstanding all these apparent obstacles they would come to an agreement, which in effect they did. The Spaniards, some time afterwards, returned to the charge, still lessening their demands according to their subtle maxims of policy, and commissioners were named on both sides ; the disputes ran so high, that they were many times upon the point of breaking off the conference. The affair imperceptibly turned into a negotiation more peaceable ; the English commissioners reduced the Spanish ones not only to express no resentment against France, but they were the first to say, that she ought not in any manner to be excluded. They never mentioned the two kings without joining the third to them ; and even treated the States with respect and consideration, appearing inclined to come to an agreement with them at all events. All this was done to conceal from his Britannic majesty whatever was contrary in the real design of this negotiation to the first, and to remove all his scruples.

To this battery they joined the assistance of little anonymous writings, in which the authors endeavoured to prove, that peace was equally advantageous for the three kings. In one of these papers, which was supposed to be written by an Englishman, because the power of the king of England was greatly exaggerated, who, says the author, can subsist independent of any other state, tho' none can without him : as if the Spaniards were not capable of so high a flight of flattery to secure the success of their designs : in one of these papers, I say, it was maliciously insinuated, that this peace was desired with equal ardour by the three kings ; but that their most Christian and Britannic majesties secretly wished, at the same time, that it would give them a claim to the possession of Flanders.

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HOWEVER, they could come to no agreement during the space of a year; and it was not till the 21st of June this year that the negotiation was likely to succeed; but it went on rapidly at the beginning of July, and was so far advanced, that no one in England doubted of its being concluded, as soon as the constable of Castile arrived, who was upon the point of going to London in the quality of ambassador extraordinary from his Catholic majesty, and furnished with full powers to conclude the peace: the same opinion prevailed in Paris; and it was even believed there, that not only England but the United Provinces, had secretly made conditions of agreement with Spain; and that the States, by the interposition and arbitration of his Britannic majesty, had put an end to the disputes on occasion of the cautionary cities, the navigation of the Indies, the liberty of trading without paying the thirty *per cent.* and others. But why, if this was so, did we not see the siege raised, and other hostilities cease on both sides?

THIS report, however, was absolutely false, at least with regard to the imaginary agreement and arbitration. The States perceived but too soon, and even while the conferences were subsisting, that they had nothing more to expect from his Britannic majesty. This prince became weary at length of struggling so long with his inclinations; he affected to be the common friend of all Europe. He had lately given the name of Great Britain to his united kingdoms, and had made a solemn entry into London, where a conference was held by his orders to reconcile the church party and the puritans; for his pacific notions extended to all things: he did not reflect, that by this conduct he was going to exclude from the benefit of a peace those very persons that had most need of it, who were the Dutch, whom he left to the mercy of their enemies. The English already began to abuse every one of that nation whom they found trading in their ports; and when the Dutch alledged, as usual, that the English ought not to concern themselves with a certain kind of traffic upon their coasts, they replied, that they had permission to do it from the king of Spain their sovereign. Nothing so irritated the Dutch as speeches of that nature; and if the inhabitants of Flushing had been suffered, it is believed they would have murdered all the English they had amongst them: but the fatal consequences of such a proceeding being represented to them, they restrained their rage.

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THE States had expected a quite different treatment, when, at the beginning of the conferences between the commissioners, his Britannic majesty insisted that they should be admitted, and their agent, the sieur Le Caron, heard there. Le Caron acknowledged, that at first he had good reason to be satisfied with the English commissioners: upon the Spaniards introducing the subject of the Dutch cautionary cities, which they passionately desired should be put into their hands, the English told them, that they could do no otherwise than surrender these cities to the council of the United Provinces, when the money lent upon them was repaid: and when the Spaniards retorted, with some resentment, that the restitution of them ought to be made to those who had given them as hostages, the English counsellors only answered, that if the States refused to pay the money that was lent, they would make the same proposal to the Spaniards. They were likewise favourable enough to the Dutch in the article concerning trade, which held them a long time in dispute; the Spaniards insisted, that Holland should open to them the trade of the Flemish coast, and particularly that of Antwerp, which she had, as it were, locked up, by building several forts upon the Scheld, and among others that of Iffot: but the English soon cooled in these favourable intentions for their neighbours. Buzenval, whose letters furnished me with great part of what I have related concerning these conferences, judged thus of the event, that the English knew well what would be the consequences of this new plan of politics which they had embraced; but that great jealousy of us, and a little folly, had suggested all that had been done on this occasion.

MATTERS were in this state, when the king of England thought proper to inform his most Christian majesty, by his ambassador at the court of France, of his intentions to conclude a treaty with Spain, the English ambassador presenting the memorial to the king at the same time. His Britannic majesty, in this memorial, persisted still in the strange opinion, that this treaty was not inconsistent with that of the preceding year. James had attempted to persuade Beaumont to believe the same, and promised Henry that he would defer the conclusion of it till the disputes which then subsisted between the two crowns of France and Spain concerning trade were terminated. The commissioners, however, did not scruple to sign the * treaty between Spain and

* This treaty is no way different from a true treaty of peace; the kings of Spain and England engage their allies in it, that is, all the princes and states of Christen-

dom, who are all named, except the United Provinces alone: it is set out at large in the Septen. an. 1604. Matthieu, 650, &c.

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England, and referred Beaumont to the arrival of the constable of Castile, to settle the affair of the trade between his nation and Spain. The constable was applied to when he passed through Paris in his way to London; but he prevented, by obstacles which he raised on purpose, the concluding upon any thing with cardinal Bufalo, who had already begun to interest himself in the affair. But what was still more surprising, these commissioners, without giving Beaumont any satisfaction on that head, had the assurance to demand the impost on the port of Calais to be taken off. Beaumont, who knew it was his majesty's intention to continue it, even after the affair of the thirty *per cent.* was concluded, which had no relation to that, evaded the proposal, by making one of the same nature to them.

THE constable of Castile passed through France again the latter end of September, in his return to Spain, carrying with him the treaty concluded, and arrived at Paris just as the treaty of commerce was concluded there likewise. He demanded permission, the next day, to pay his respects to the king, to whom he presented himself with an air and countenance full of satisfaction; he made him a studied compliment, which for that reason was perhaps the less sincere; taking for his subject the two agreements lately made, he endeavoured to persuade this prince, that France and Spain being the two most powerful monarchs of Christendom, a strict union between them was the necessary and infallible means of accomplishing every enterprize they should undertake in concert; he laid great stress upon the alliance which had at all times been between France and Castile; he dwelt upon the advantages of this association, which would give the same friends and enemies to the two crowns, and upon the means of rendering it indissoluble; which was, he said, to be wholly free from all partiality; to divest themselves of all jealousy of authority, and preeminence; to explain and determine, in an amicable manner, their pretensions upon certain cantons and cities of Europe; he did not forget to insinuate to his majesty, that the protestants were enemies which policy required should be humbled: he concluded his speech with representing to the king, the advantages which would accrue from a double marriage between the children of the two kings; which seemed (he said) by the circumstances of the times, to be already determined in heaven. He artfully assured the king, that he had no authority from his master for what he had said on this subject, but entreated him to acquaint him with his sentiments on it; because, though they were only overtures made by himself, yet if they had the good fortune to be approved by his

his majesty, he should with the greater confidence propose them afterwards to the king his master.

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I WAS not present at this discourse, but the king came to the arsenal on purpose to give me an account of it. He stopped, after relating the Spaniard's proposals, telling me he desired to know what answer I should have made to them, before he repeated that which he had given himself. I replied, with the same gaiety, that I could tell him immediately, but that I would defer satisfying him till the next day, that I might take time to consider of it, and prevent him from accusing me of precipitation, as he often did when my opinion had not the good fortune to please him. His majesty consented to it, smiling, and gave me a little tap on the cheek, as was his custom when he was in good humour.

I WENT the next day to the Louvre, to acquit myself of my promise, and found the king walking upon the terras of the Capuchins; I told him, that if he still remembered a sentence which I had once applied to the Spaniards, and which he thought diverting enough, "that they preferred works * to faith," he would not be long at a loss to know what answer I would have made to their ambassador; that after so many breaches of faith, so many perjuries, and violations of truth, with which Spain had dishonoured herself in the sight of all Europe, the constable of Castile's discourse would have seemed to me to be a new stratagem of the king of Spain, to break off the alliance between his majesty and the United Provinces, and the other protestant powers his friends, that he might find a still more favourable opportunity of invading his kingdom than his father had done. This being a fact of so atrocious a nature that palliation of it ought not even to be attempted, I recalled it to his remembrance, and added, that but for England, Holland, the French and foreign protestants, but for his incredible labours and incessant fatigues, Spain had probably at this day talked to him in the stile of a master: that the council of Madrid, accustomed to profane all that is most sacred in religion, abused the name of marriage, which had nothing binding enough in it to restrain their lawless attempts. And here I made an observation to Henry, which appeared to me to have great weight in it.

IT was not, I told him, a stroke of such wise policy as was generally believed, to marry the sons of France into families almost equal to

* In allusion to one of Calvin's doctrines, which is censured by the catholic church.

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their own, such as that of Spain *; for besides that there was no alliance, however close, but must yield to the hatred which ambition inspires for a rival, the advantage that was expected from these unions might be destroyed by the very cause which made it too considerable: but it was quite different with marriages contracted with inferior families; from them, at least, we might promise ourselves all the assistance they are in a condition to give: the honour of an alliance with the most illustrious house in the world is too flattering for them not to make them contribute with all their power towards the support of its grandeur, and the increase of its glory. Spain †, by this practice, has found the secret of considerably augmenting her power, by means less rapid, indeed, but also less hazardous, than war.

I TAKE this occasion to observe, that I am not of the common opinion with respect to the salic law; that law so much talked of, which is no where to be found in writing, but whose original is sufficiently demonstrated by the name it bears: as its antiquity is proved by the uncertainty even of this origin ‡. It has been generally considered as the

† By this stroke of politics, France nevertheless gained the crown of Spain to the house of Bourbon, after the death of Charles II.

‡ “The house of Austria, said Guy-Patin, has gained great inheritances, *per lanceam carnis*; that is, by alliances and marriages.”

‡ As to the Salic law, the abbé du Bos speaks of it as follows, in his Critical history of the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul, vol. III. b. vii. p. 290, 291. “it probably obtained its name from its being already in force amongst the Salian Franks, when Clovis incorporated into their tribe all the tribes which acknowledged him as king, in the year 510, except the tribe of the Ripuarii. The most ancient digest we at present have of this law, is what was made by the order of king Clovis, and afterwards corrected by the orders of Childbert and Clotarius his children.—In the year 798, Charlemagne made a new digest of it, in which he added many new ordinances to it, &c.” This writer farther asserts, *ibid.* 273. That the clause which enacts, “That the crown of

France shall not descend from the lance “to the distaff,” is really contained in the 62d article of the Salic laws.

But another opinion has been maintained, and seems to be supported by reasons of still greater force, in opposition to the foregoing, by an academician of equal judgment and knowledge (M. de Foncemagne) in his excellent memoir on this subject, inserted in the collection of the memoirs of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, anno 1727. p. 490, & seq. it is thereby proved, that there is no one article in all the Salic code, which excludes daughters from the succession to the crown; and that the 6th paragraph of the 62d title of this code, where it is said, “That males alone can enjoy the Salic lands; and that females can have no share in the inheritance,” ought only to be extended to the lands and inheritances of private persons; but that, besides this, there was a custom, existing from time immemorial, even amongst the Germans, that daughters could not succeed to the crown; that Tacitus makes mention of this, &c.—M. de Foncemagne had before demonstrated, in another memoir (*ibid.* anno 1726, p. 464, surest

surest foundation of the kingdom and of the regal power. To me it appears, from the reflections I have made on this subject, that the situation of France, and the other advantages she has received from nature, are of themselves sufficient causes for that preeminence she has over all the other states of Europe; and that the Salic law, so far from contributing to these advantages, has often hindered them from being improved by those which a well-directed policy might have added to them. It is certain, that if a foreign prince, by marrying an heiress of France, should become our king, the first kings of this race would be considered either as Germans, Italians, Spaniards, or English; but as there is not the least reason to fear that he would transfer the seat of his empire from a city which every prince, if he had it in his power, would chuse to reside in, this first foreign prince, or king, would be soon a naturalized Frenchman; and his posterity, from the first generation, would be wholly French. The house of Austria, established in Spain, and that of Stuart, placed on the throne of England, are evidences of this truth. This first foreign prince, or king, would likewise unite to our crown his hereditary dominions, probably for ever. The Salic law, by forbidding (if I may use the expression) the kingdom of France from falling to the distaff, has deprived it of one way of aggrandizing itself; and a way so much the less to be despised, as force having no share in it, it affords no occasion nor pretence for war.

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HENRY was much pleased with the answer I would have given to the Spanish constable; he assured me, that his sentiments were the same with mine, but that he had concealed them under fine words, that he might not give the Castilian any suspicion of his designs*.

& seq.) that the kingdom of France was hereditary, but in the male line only, during the first race of our kings.

The sentiments of these two writers, though opposite in themselves, become united against the principle laid down in this part of these Memoirs, which conveys to us an idea in every respect insupportable. Besides its direct tendency to destroy the preeminence this nation enjoys, it would involve the whole kingdom in almost a perpetual series of civil and foreign wars, from the cabals it would occasion in the choice of a successor to the crown; it would create a confusion in the laws, for which foreign kings would not always observe a

proper deference, and be productive of many other inconveniences, of which the author undoubtedly was not aware: I cannot therefore believe but the whole is only an imaginary scheme of the compilers, since none of the duke of Sully's maxims are discoverable in it. On the actual existence of the Salic law, consult Venderlin, Eccard Baluze, &c. cited by the two academicians above named.

* John De-Serre, speaking of the reception Henry IV. gave the constable, says: "The king sent the duke of Montbazon, with a most honourable train of noble men, to receive him at the gate of Paris." When Zamet gave an entertainment to the

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THESE designs might indeed suffer some prejudice from what passed at London between England and Spain, yet it did not take away a probability of carrying them into execution; things were not yet so far advanced as to attempt that immediately: in political affairs, time brings every thing about, if its operations are waited for with prudence. In cardinal Bufalo I found all that I had been so long seeking for on the part of Rome; nor did I scruple to acquaint him with what might possibly happen hereafter, being persuaded that the kingdom of Naples, which I allotted for his holiness's share, was a bribe sufficient to secure his secrecy, and even to make him solicitous for the success of it. This cardinal had always appeared to me to be a perfect politician: Spain, by seizing, as she had lately done, upon the fortresses of Porto-hercole, Orbitello, Talamone, Piombino, Final, and Monaco, had opened the Pope's eyes; and indeed, if the Romans had not considered these frequent innovations as the forerunners of their approaching slavery, they must have been wholly void of reflexion. That Clement the eighth was of this opinion is sufficiently clear, from the steps he was seen to take; he was just such a Pope as Henry had occasion for, and this prince studied to oblige him on every occasion: he gave him a convincing proof of this disposition, by sending the prince of Condé to his court to be brought up, and instructed in the roman-catholic religion.

THE princes of Germany had equally favourable impressions of Henry. His majesty commanded me to treat the duke of Wirtemberg's ambassador with great respect, that he might make a friend of his master; and though he had some reason to be dissatisfied with the elector palatine, on account of the duke of Bouillon, yet he paid, without making any cavilling, certain sums that still remained due to this elector, for which his ministers solicited, Henry only requiring that he

constable, the king came in unawares, just as they were giving water to the constable to wash, saying, "I am come to sup with you." The constable being surprised, was going to put one knee to the ground, and present a napkin to him; but the king raised him up and said, "It is not your business to do the honours of this house, but to receive them, you are of the blood royal;" and truly, the king is related to the house of Velasques, holding the office of constable by hereditary right, and which is conferred by the kings

of Spain on those they think proper to elevate to the next degree below themselves.

This ambassador had already had the honour of paying his respects to the king, two years before, when he was going to Flanders. "He continued on his knees, says Matthieu, something longer than he expected, and thereupon said, the king received him like a king, and cared him as a relation." Vol. II. b. v. p. 605. Siri, 317.

should recal his son from Sedan. With respect to the United-Provinces, though they were abandoned by England, yet as that crown did not turn her arms against them, this made no alteration in their affairs, the assistance they had received from the English having been very inconsiderable. After the loss of Ostend and Sluys, the States took a little repose; but it was weariness, and their exhausted condition, that made them submit to this respite, which was to continue but a short time. Thus the means of a diversion were secured, to be used whenever France should make attempts upon Spain.

I HAVE slightly touched upon a difference between Spain and the Grisons*, which made noise enough this year, to give occasion for many historical memoirs which were composed on this subject. This difference I am now going to explain.

THE Swiss Cantons have, for neighbours and allies, the three leagues of the Grisons, the thirteen corporations of the Upper and Lower Valais, consisting of fifty-four parishes, of which the bishop appointed by them is lord; Saint-Gal, Geneva, Neuf-chatel, Baden, and other cities, imperial and not imperial, which submitted to the Swiss, on condition that their privileges should be preserved: these cities are comprehended in nine bailiwicks.

THE Grisons, of whom we speak at present, inhabit the Alps; and that which is called the Valteline, which is a valley or rather a kind of large ditch, lying between the foot of the Alps belonging to Italy, and those on the other side of it; for though its length be thirty leagues, or thereabouts, it is not more than one league broad, where its breadth is greatest, from the Tirol to the lake of Como. All the ground of this valley is watered by the Adda, which runs quite through it, and being increased by the torrents it receives in its passage, is but little less than the Marne, when it discharges itself into the lake of Come; it contains about a hundred thousand inhabitants, and is very fruitful in grain, vines, fruit-trees, and pasturage: it is bounded on the east by the earldom of Tirol, to which it is contiguous, but the passages are both narrow and difficult; on the south by Bresse and Bergame, dependencies on the republic of Venice; the chain of mountains which separates it from those two cities, are so steep, and the ground so hard, that it is

* See Matthiev, vol. II. b. iii. and other historians, particularly Vittorio Siri, who treats this point of history very fully. Mem. second. vol. I. p. 369, & seq.

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wholly inaccessible on that side, except by two passages, from Tiron into Bressan, and from Morben into Bergamasque; a like chain of mountains, inhabited by the Grisons, bounds it on the north. The disposition of this place is such, that there are no passages to enter Italy from those countries which lye to the north of it, but those that lead into this valley, which at the west ends in a plain in the duchy of Milan, in which runs the lake of Coma, between the Milaneze and the Valteline. This is the place we are about to speak of.

ABOUT six hundred paces from the lake of Coma, Spain had lately built a fort called the fort of Fuentes, from the name of him who was to command it, upon a rock two hundred feet in height, which commanded the whole extent of ground which separates the Milaneze from the Valteline, and which is already but too difficult to pass from the bogs and miry fields. Upon the shore of the lake, which in this place is not above two or three hundred paces in breadth, another fort was built over against the first, but not near so large; and to close up this passage completely, deep trenches were dug in the space between the bottom of these mountains and the lake. The fortifications of these two castles were very well contrived, being rendered pointed and angular, to suit the form of the rock; which has this farther advantage, that no cannon from any of the neighbouring places can take a direct aim at it.

It was not likely that the Grisons would not take umbrage at such an enterprise; for although the Spaniards appeared, or feigned, to have no thought of them in building this new work, and to shew that they had no design upon any part that did not belong to them, caused some trenches which had been carried too far to be filled up; yet it was but too apparent, that their view was to endeavour one day to join the states of Italy and Germany, by invading the Valteline; and till then, to put an obstacle in this place to the passage of those beyond the Alps into Italy, to cut off all communication between the Swiss and Grisons, and the French their allies, with the republic of Venice; in a word, to reduce the Grisons to capitulate with them, and acknowledge them for their masters.

SPAIN had already given the Grisons some proofs of this last design. The protestant party had hitherto been most powerful in the three leagues, being established in the most considerable canton, and embraced by persons of the greatest riches and distinction among them; these were firmly attached to France, and were mortal enemies to Spain:

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Spain : but the differences of religion had as yet given rise to no misunderstanding among these people, because they were sensible their strength consisted in union : the Spaniards, however, found means to break this union, by sending their usual emissaries, the jesuits and capuchins, into those cantons. These fathers, by persuasions, promises, and bribes, easily succeeded in their design of setting the two parties at variance with each other ; and gave the catholics as great a disgust to the form of government established by their countrymen, as aversion to the religion they professed.

THEIR hatred began first to shew itself in the result of the debates in the assembly of catholics, which was held at Baden, and which for the first time was directly contrary to that of the protestants, who held a separate one at Arau at the same time. Some demanded, that those persons who had embezzled the money of the republic should be prosecuted, and arrears issued against them ; others openly supported those persons : but the catholic party becoming at length the strongest, they proceeded to such extremities with the protestants, as to endeavour to banish them entirely into some little cantons, under pretence that they intended to deliver their country up to France. This is a thing which France hardly thought of ; but she could not be indifferent to what passed there, any more than the republic of Venice, who took an equal interest in these people. The sieur Pascal had been long our ambassador to them ; and the Grisons appeared so well satisfied with him, that they desired they might have just such another ; and as while these good intentions continued, they had also requested that he might be one capable of teaching them the art of war, we sent them De Vic, with orders to him and Canaye, who resided at Venice in the same quality, to act always in concert with each other.

THE best and shortest method we could have taken, was to support the leagues, in hindering by force the building of the fort of Fuentes, or at least to have furnished them with the means of building one on their side, which would have rendered it useless. They had thought of this themselves ; and it would not have been a new thing, if his majesty had given some money to these people : but indeed the Grisons had greatly cooled the zeal of their friends for their interests ; they were so far from expressing any gratitude to his majesty for the pensions he distributed amongst them, that they made no other return but complaints of their being injudiciously bestowed, and that this distribution was not referred to their ministers.

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THE Venetians were alike discontented with them, upon other accounts, which Canaye communicated to De Vic; and it was highly probable, that the Swifs would serve them no more with their accustomed good-will. The latter had allowed themselves to be allured by the gracious reception their ambassador had met with at Milan; and no one, on the other hand, doubted but the five cantons of Lucern, Schwitz, Zug, Uri, and Unterwald, would renew their alliance with the Milanese.

IN opposition to all this, the liberty of the Grisons appeared a sort of point, to every interested party, which ought not to be neglected; nor could the Spaniards hope as yet to complete their design of hoodwinking the eyes of the Helvetic senate, though they supposed it not greatly illuminated with true political principles. In a word, it was at the diet appointed to meet at Coire, June 12, that these great efforts were to make their appearance; and each respective party, who expected the developing of the whole affair in question, took care to depute a representative worthy to be trusted. Alphonso Cazal came thither in the behalf of count Fuentes: I, by the means of Montmartin, sent letters from his majesty to De Vic, which, however, never happened to be produced in public, because Canaye declared that the state of Venice, with regard to the Grisons, held sentiments very different from those of the king; and it was a principle inculcated into all our ambassadors, to unite consistently in the same demands. The French and Venetian ambassadors contented themselves with carrying on their point behind the scene, nor did they hardly ever appear to act: their seeming inactivity gave great hopes to count Fuentes; yet all the intrigues and movements of Alphonso Cazal, in conjunction with him, could not support his party from miscarrying. The result of the diet was, that the * leagues would bear no mention of a treaty with Spain, except the fortress of Fuentes was previously razed, except communication and commerce were rendered free and open; in a word, except all things were reduced to their antient situation. The alliance with France received at the same diet a new confirmation; nevertheless, a great distance of space and time was required to pass from such resolutions to actual effects; and the Spaniards had many subterfuges to recur to, by way of amusing the Grisons. Montmartin returned not thence, till he had maturely considered every point

* When two or more cantons unite in one common cause, it is called a league.

that administered matter in these debates, taking a draught at the same time, by my order, both of the fortress and the district round it. I have formed this article upon his representation and memoirs. 1604.

A DISPUTE of the same nature with this, but in which his majesty was immediately concerned, arose this year, on account of the bridge of Avignon. This famous bridge was falling into decay for want of some repairs which had a long time been necessary. This delay was occasioned by the particular situation of affairs in France, which left no time for the discussion of a question between the king of France and the Pope, without which these repairs could not be undertaken. The question was this; the Pope, in quality of proprietor of Avignon, claimed likewise the proprietorship of this bridge, of the toll and passage of the Rhone, between Avignon and Villeneuve, and consequently of all the privileges annexed to these passes*; therefore the repairing of this bridge was deferred till it was decided, to which of the two, his majesty or the Pope, it belonged to do it. The king being desirous that this question should be decided once for all, and falling entirely under my cognizance, it was referred to me, which affords me an opportunity of explaining it to the public.

THE law received in France has, at no time, granted any claim upon the waters and course of the Rhone to its borderers, though sovereign princes; for of this rank some of them have been, as the prince Dauphin, the duke of Savoy, the count of Provence, and the prince of Orange. The question was reduced to this point, namely, whether the Pope, who is one of the borderers, has any right to be excepted from this general rule by any particular concession.

To decide this point, I caused the archives of the monarchy, the ancient rights of inheritance, the registers of the seneschal jurisdiction of Nimes, and all the charters of the province to be consulted. I sent commissioners of probity and understanding to the place; and the result of these laborious inquiries was, that the regulations by which rivers are divided between the borderers have no relation to the king of France, and also that he enjoyed a double right with respect to the Rhone, possessing solely as sovereign its bed, the old and new channel, with all the rights annexed to them. Among the provinces through which this river runs, Languedoc has this claim most incontestably established,

* Cardinal D'Ossat speaks of it in a manner greatly in favour of the Pope, in his letter to M. de Villeroi, of the 2d of June 1603.

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being an antient fief of the crown, which has never been separated from it, and the counts of Toulouse have always held it in this quality. In this it is different from Dauphiné and Provence, which are acquisitions to the crown: but neither this reason, nor another equally strong, the possibility that the provinces of Dauphiné and Provence might be alienated for an appanage or a portion, could hinder them from being comprehended in the same law with the Rhone, by the right of regale, which our kings could not be deprived of. A great number of edicts which were issued in the mean time in their favour, against the borderers of the Rhone, confirmed this right; and the treaty which was after the last war concluded with the duke of Savoy, established it upon a solid foundation. The doubt concerning the Pope's interest in Avignon arose from this:

A FUND of four thousand livres was formerly set aside by the kings of France, for making repairs in this bridge. This fund was afterwards relinquished to an order of monks, who make a vow to assist all poor travellers, and called themselves the brothers which served the hospital at the bridge of Avignon, because that hospital joins to the bridge: they were likewise invested with the rights which were to come to the king, on their binding themselves to keep the bridge always in repair. These rectors of the bridge enjoyed a long time these revenues and rights, but took no care to perform the obligations they had entered into. At length this first fund was dissipated and lost, no one knew how; during which time the officers of his holiness made several different attempts to get possession of the bridge and its rights; and the best way to effect this, in their opinion, was to make a voluntary offer of being at all the expence of the necessary repairs: they several times attempted to begin the work; but although his majesty's council did not act with all the spirit they ought to have done upon this step of usurpation, the candidates, however, were always contradicted, and their demands rejected. From all these proofs, his majesty's claim was ascertained.

I CAUSED a definitive arret to be issued, which decided this difference. By this arret, the Rhone and its isles, its ports, tolls, rights, and dependencies, particularly the bridge of Avignon, were declared to belong solely to the king, by the regal rights of the demesne, and the patrimony of the crown. In consequence of this arret, his majesty ordered the repairs of the bridge to be begun, and measures to be taken to recover the
first

first funds, that had been misapplied and lost : and thus was this affair ended, in which the duke of Savoy was almost as much concerned as the Pope. 1604.

HIS majesty also made an acquisition of the earldom of Saint-Paul, one of the apanges of the count of Soissons. This prince being plunged in debts, determined to sell this earldom to satisfy his creditors, who were very pressing for payment : he thought, no doubt, that, after the birth of a son, which his wife had lately brought him, he ought not to live any longer in a dissipation of his fortunes : he received, with his usual affectation of gravity and stoicism, the compliments his majesty sent him upon the birth of his son ; and afterwards sent Guillouaire to the king, with the offer of his earldom of Saint-Paul. Henry, in this acquisition, first considered his inclinations, and afterwards the inconvenience of doing homage for it, if it passed into the hands of any foreign prince ; he therefore heard the count's proposal favourably, and till they could agree upon the price, advanced him a considerable sum of money to free him from the importunity of his creditors.

HIS majesty, who had not yet mentioned this affair to me, wrote to the count of Soissons, and desired him to apply to Caumartin and me, to whom he intended to entrust the management of this purchase ; and wrote to me also, to know my opinion of it. I approved of it entirely, and used my utmost endeavours to serve the count of Soissons ; but I found it necessary to give great attention to the form in which the purchase was to be made. The affair being protracted to some length, I set out on my journey to Poitou : Henry, in the mean time, listening only to his impatience, and being persuaded that there was no danger to be hazarded by bringing the affair to a speedy conclusion, referred it to messieurs de Bellievre, Villeroi, Sillery, and Mairie, who settled all matters with the count of Soissons by a bargain of exchange. At my return the king acquainted me with what was done ; and seeing me greatly astonished at his precipitation, enquired the cause, reproaching me at the same time with the little inclination I discovered for making so fine an acquisition to the crown, which had, from my ancestors, fallen into the possession of the count of Soissons : it was for this very reason that I knew more of the matter than any other person, and I excused myself in the following manner to his majesty.

FROM the time that this earldom had been possessed by the counts of its name, it had been the subject of many debates, whether it
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should be held of the county of Boulogne or the county of Artois; that is to say, of France or Spain. This dispute being of the number of those which it is not easy to decide, it was agreed to in the last treaties made by Francis I. and Henry II. with the kings of Spain, that till the question could be decided, the lords of Saint-Paul should be at liberty to hold it of either of those counties which they should prefer. The succeeding counts of Saint-Paul chose to do homage for it to the county of Artois; and, by this preference, gave Spain a claim which might furnish a sufficient pretence for re-kindling the war, as soon as the king of France, the possessor of this fief, should declare, that he would hold it for the future of the count of Boulogne, who was himself, for he could not without a kind of dishonour do otherwise. It would have been a melancholy thing, to see the war re-kindled for a trifle of this nature; and shameful to avoid it, by submitting to do homage to a crown which owed it to France. The king was convinced by my arguments; and the remedy was, to break the first contract, and sign a second in the name of a third person, and his majesty was not to declare himself till he could do it without any injury to his dignity.

THIS affair was concluded at Fontainebleau, where the king made a long stay this year. He sent for the Dauphin and the rest of the children from Saint-Germain. It was his first design, that the Dauphin should not pass through Paris in this journey; but he altered it upon some representations which I made him. The children of France, with madam de Monglat their governess, passed through Paris in their way to Saint-Cloud, and came to Fontainebleau by Savigny.

ONE of his majesty's natural sons, who was called Alexander Monsieur, was received into the order of Malta, in compliance with the king's inclinations*. He gave orders, during his stay at Fontainebleau, for his buildings to be begun. The expences of this year were not lessened but increased, by the addition of those sums laid out on the buildings destined for the new manufactures. My part was to obey, and I did it in silence, but with deep regret. I remember only, that seeing at the same time a great number of religious orders† established

* This ceremony was performed in the church of the Temple, in the presence of the legat and ambassadors. The young prince not being able to pronounce the words of the vows, Henry IV. hastily descended from his throne and made them for

him to the grand prior, promising that the prince should ratify them when he should be sixteen years of age. De Thou, book cxxxii.

† Politicians have always made a great outcry against the too great increase of

in France by the Pope's commission, I quoted to his majesty the examples of Charlemaign for the first, and the Romans for the second.

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MAHOMET III. dying of the plague, Achmet his son, who succeeded him at fourteen years of age, was obliged to appease the murmurs of the people against the bad government, by banishing his grandmother, who was the cause of it. Sinan Basha, the counsellor of this prince, was cited to give an account of his conduct; but, instead of obeying this order, he fled. Persia, being then at war with this crown, took advantage of these disorders to seize certain towns. The sieur de Salignac was then our ambassador at the Porte.

religious orders, and the excessive number of monks in this kingdom. If our kings and our ministers of the greatest abilities have not followed this maxim, it was not owing to their not allowing the force of these reasons, but to their thinking it their duty to give religion the preference to politics; since, if it be true, that monks are useless to the state, it is equally incontestable, that religion would suffer by their suppression. "The man must therefore be either wicked or blind," says cardinal de Richelieu, whose evidence on this subject is less liable to suspicion than M. de Sully's, "who does not see and acknowledge, that the religious orders are not only useful

"but even necessary; as, on the other hand, nothing but too indiscreet a zeal can prevent one from perceiving, that an excess of them is not only inconvenient; but may be even increased to such a degree as to become destructive. What is done for the service of the state is done for the service of God, who is the basis and foundation of it: to reform the religious houses already established, and to stop the too great increase of new foundations, are two things pleasing to God, who desires regularity and order in all things." Political Testament, part I. chap. ii. § 8.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XX.

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THE process carried on in the parliament, against the counts of Auvergne and Entragues, and the marchioness of Verneuil, terminated in an arret given the beginning of this year, by which the two counts were condemned to lose their heads, and the marchioness to be shut up, during the rest of her life, in a cloister. I received the first news of it from the king, who sent for me to acquaint me with the sentence; and, afterwards drawing me aside to the balcony of the first gallery in the Louvre, asked me what impression I thought this treatment would make on the mind of his mistress. I asked his majesty, in my turn, whether in proposing this question, he wished that I should tell him my sentiments freely. "Yes, yes, replied Henry, do not be apprehensive that I shall be offended; I have been long accustomed to your freedoms." I then told him, that he himself could answer this question better than any other person; for if he gave the marchioness reason to believe that he was wholly cured of his passion, and animated with a just indignation against her, he would see her have recourse to submission, to prayers and tears to move him; but if, on the contrary, he suffered her to suspect that he had acted only under the impression of a mere love quarrel, she would not recede from her former insolence of behaviour.

I AFTERWARDS frankly confessed to Henry, that whichsoever of these two parts should be taken by Madam de Verneuil, I was persuaded the consequence would be still the same, for many reasons, among which, his natural clemency and his consideration for the children he had by his mistress, did not seem to be the least. "I would have you visit her, said this prince to me; I want to know what she will say to you, and if she will not employ you as an intercessor for her to me." I entreated his majesty, with the utmost earnestness, to dispense with me both from the visit and the intercession: I was truly weary of acting a part which had never produced any effect; and I was unwilling to lose entirely the good opinion of the queen, to whom, notwithstanding I had always supported her interest against her rival, I had been represented as an artful incendiary, and the venal spy and flatterer of Henry. I had proofs, that such insinuations had been given the queen more than a month since; I told the king so, and named three persons to him who had been the authors of them; and represented to him, that there wanted only this step, which he required me to take, to deprive me hereafter of all means of serving him with this princess, on occasions which he was sensible recurred but too frequently. Henry contested this point with me a long while, but I prevailed at length, and left to another those infallible means of making court to a prince, but for which I ever had the strongest dislike; and if I still took any part in the affair, it was only to prevent the conclusion of it from being as shameful for Henry, as I foresaw it was likely to be.

THIS prince did not want courtiers conformable to his taste; the gross servility of a court was fully displayed. As soon as it was perceived there that Henry could neither disengage himself from his mistress, nor rule the queen, this crowd of voluntary slaves to the passions of the sovereign accommodated their actions, words, and even the air of their countenances, to this disposition: no one dared to contradict either the queen or the marchioness, and only feigned to do so, when the nature of their commission required it; they but half served his anger, that they might always have their justification ready for both sides. Sigogne had been sent to me, by his majesty, with a very severe order concerning the marchioness, conceived in the strongest terms: he did not scruple to suppress one half of it; and, what is indeed astonishing, Henry discovered that he did so, told me of it, and yet continued to make use of him. If this prince carried weakness to an extravagant length, his courtiers pushed their flattery still farther; it

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was never better known to what degree of ingenuity, and at the same time of servility, incancess, and wickedness, it could attain.

No one was deceived as to the manner in which Henry treated the marchioness of Verneuil; but it was matter of general surprize, to find that the lenity shewn her extended to the two other criminals, whom the public voice had already condemned to the same punishment which marechal Biron had suffered: the count d'Auvergne's sentence * was commuted into a perpetual imprisonment in the Bastile, where for once he had leisure to grow weary † of confinement: that of the lady's father, into a banishment to his own estates: and as for her, she had a full pardon ‡, and even dictated the conditions herself.

THE affair between the king and his mistress could not be terminated in this manner, without creating new quarrels between this prince and the queen, to whom this late instance of tenderness and consideration in the king her husband for his faithless mistress afforded sufficient matter for rage and exclamation: it was absolutely necessary she should be appeased, and Henry was obliged to have recourse to me on this occasion. No labour, no fatigue was equal to this; every moment there were new expressions to explain, new actions to justify, new interests to conciliate; it was the business of the night as well as the day, to compose these differences: no sooner did a calm appear, than a storm

* "The king changed this punishment, says Bassompierre, to an imprisonment for life, partly in consideration of Madame d'Angoulême, who most earnestly begged it of him, but more for a reason he gives us, which is, that the late king Henry III. his predecessor, had, on his death bed, recommended only the count of Auvergne, and M. Le Grand to his favour; and he would therefore not have it said, that he had put a man to death, who had been so affectionately recommended to him, by the person from whom he had received the kingdom." Vol. I. p. 165. But neither M. de Sully, nor Henry IV. himself, when conversing with his minister on this subject, makes the least mention of this motive.

† He came out of his prison in the next reign. He was seventy-one years of age, when, in 1644, he took for his second wife

mademoiselle de Nargonne; and, as this lady did not die till 1713, aged ninety-two years, it made a kind of chronological paradox, that a daughter-in-law should die an hundred and forty years after her father-in-law.

‡ "The king, says Perefice, permitted the marchioness to retire to Verneuil, and seven months having passed without the attorney-general's finding any evidence against her, by the king's order she was declared guiltless of the crime whereof she was accused. He also, says the *Mercure François*, dispensed with her personal attendance on the parliament to get her letters of pardon registered, which were allowed by the parliament on the 6th of September." See the particulars of this process in M. De Thou, an. 1605. Sirij, *ibid.* p. 299, and other historians.

arose immediately after, which brought every thing back to its former ^{1605.} state. At my return from the Limosin, at the end of the year, I found more unhappiness at Fontainebleau than there had ever been before : what could be done, in an evil so irremediable, than to deplore it in silence ? and this was the method I pursued. I collected all the letters the king had written to me upon this subject, and suffered none to remain in the hands of my secretaries, from whom I concealed, for the future, what the king imparted to me in confidence, whatever instances they might make me. One of these letters of most consequence I snatched from a secretary of mine, who had begun to read it in a little summer-house, where I sent him to search for some papers. I act upon the same plan at present with the public, to whom I do not communicate all these little quarrels, which they would find a needless repetition of disputes, reproaches, jealousies, and violent designs, of which the reader is, I believe, already sufficiently weary.

FROM the disposition the count of Auvergne was known to be of, it was believed he would not be very easy under his confinement in the Bastile, nor d'Entragues relish the inactive life he was compelled to in spite of himself. It was discovered, six months afterwards, that the count had concerted with his father-in-law, who apparently found the secret of getting intelligence even in his prison, the means of escaping from the Bastile. A man named Le-Cordier gave information of this design, and supported his evidence with so many proofs, that, upon his report, the grand prevot, searching the wood of Malesherbes, found the cords, pullies, and other engines, with which the projected escape was to be effected ; for which d'Entragues was afterwards arrested, and obliged to go through an examination at his own house. He alledged, that he was not obliged to answer the grand prevot ; there was a necessity therefore for forcing him to it by a special commission, which his majesty sent for that purpose, from the province where he then was.

IN the mean time, d'Entragues composed a kind of case, written and signed by his own hand, to justify his proceedings, and expected that this would acquit him. This piece, for its artful turn, and the specious manner in which he glossed over his conduct, was well worthy of its author : yet, with all his subtilty of reasoning, he could not clear himself of the principal charge, nor explain to his advantage the meaning of the cords and machines found in the woods of Malesherbes. He defended himself much worse when, notwithstanding this paper, he found

1664. found himself obliged to go through an examination: he maintained, with great obstinacy, that no bad intention could be proved against him, by the discovery of those cords and pullies. The grand prevot omitted no part of his duty upon this occasion; he took care to keep all the domestics of d'Entragues separate, that they might have no opportunity to consult either with their master, or with one another. But notwithstanding the rage Henry appeared to be in, yet, through the whole procedure against the criminal, something so favourable was perceived, that he had no great reason to be apprehensive, although Le-Cordier furnished all the proofs that were necessary to convict him, and heavily accused among others a man named Giez: yet they chose to believe the accused person, upon his bare word, that he was absolutely ignorant of every thing; and he was not so much as imprisoned. I was at my government while this affair was in agitation, but sent orders from thence to my lieutenant in the Bastile, to confine the count of Auvergne more closely than ever; which was all that this plot produced.

I PROCEED now to the conclusion of another affair, which was begun and almost finished during the preceding year: this was the entire restoration of the jesuits. These fathers, whatever instances of kindness they received from the king, thought nothing was granted while the pillar*, raised upon the foundation of Chatel's house, still remained. His majesty, persecuted with prayers and entreaties upon

* This pyramid, about twenty feet high, and tolerably well built, stood opposite to the palace, there being only the street betwixt them; over the pedestal, on each of its four sides, was a plate of black marble, having the arret of the parliament (before mentioned, in speaking of the process against John Chatel) engraven on them, with some inscriptions, conceived in terms the most injurious to the jesuits. We do not think it necessary to recite these inscriptions, which are preserved in the memoirs of the league, vol. VI. D'Aubigné vol. III. b. iv. chap. 4. The royal MSS. vol. 9033. where the French translation of them made at that time may also be seen, as well as in divers other writings.

M. De Thou's works, and the *Mercure François*, which may also be consulted touching the demolition of this pyramid,

anno 1605, agree with M. de Sully, that it became a kind of justice, to deface these inscriptions, when the jesuits were restored, the two arrets being contradictory to one another: but they also observe, that the destruction of it occasioned a violent outcry, it being thrown down at noonday, in the month of May, by the lieutenant-civil, sent for that purpose by the king, and a fountain was built in its place: "The order for it," says Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 683, "was directed to M. de Sully, as surveyor-general. The most valuable of the statues belonging to it were carried to the grottoes of Saint-Germain."

The enemies of the jesuits gratified their revenge, by publishing numberless pamphlets, both in verse and prose, containing the most virulent reflections on every thing that passed on this occasion, which the rea-

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this article, consented at last that it should be referred to his council. I thought, and several others were of the same opinion, that the society had no reason to complain of ill treatment, if the council came to no other resolution about it, than to erase the inscription upon this pillar, which was indeed too severe: but they knew so well how to gain over the greatest part of those which composed the council to their side, that they obtained an arret such as they desired.

I CANNOT admit, that my conduct, on this occasion, could merit the whole weight of the jesuits indignation: however, my ruin appeared to these fathers, and to the three especially who played the greatest game at the court, to be of such consequence to religion, the common cause, and their own particular interests, that it was resolved to effect it if possible. With the three jesuits, a like number of the principal lords of the court associated themselves, whom I shall name no more. All that was now necessary, was to recall to their minds the former notions of the league, of which the name indeed, but not the spirit nor the policy, was banished the court: they found no difficulty to increase their party considerably, in a very short time, with all the voluptuaries of the court, whose soft and effeminate lives it was owned I had censured with more imprudence than injustice. The jesuits, by making themselves useful to their associates, drew great advantages from them; so that, in a little time, a great number of colleges were founded in many of the chief cities in the kingdom, and endowed with very considerable revenues.

THEY did not, however, succeed every where with equal facility: the people of Troyes, Rheims, and Langres, did not receive the offers they made them of their services very favourably. They were obliged therefore to have recourse to letters from his majesty: the fathers Cotton and Gauthier were employed to ask them of the king, in whom

dérout not to expect to find here. Prompted by their malice, they laid a great stress on a circumstance happening merely from chance, or perhaps having no foundation at all in truth, which was, that, in taking down the four figures, representing the cardinal virtues, which stood on the four corners of the pyramid over the inscriptions, they began with that of justice. The print of this pyramid, which till that time had been sold by John Le-Clerk, by the king's license, was afterwards fought after with

the utmost eagerness; but Henry IV. sent for the plate, about three months only before he was assassinated. Most of the inscriptions with which the pyramid was decorated, and the destruction of which messieurs De Thou, De Serres, Mezerai, and some other historians have so much lamented, were composed by Joseph Scaliger, too good a protestant not to be an inveterate enemy to the jesuits society. Mem. chronol. & dogmat. vol. I. p. 30.

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so many petitions, one after the other, sometimes occasioned a little reflection. He told them, that he was very willing to gratify all their desires, but that he feared they would, at last, endanger the royal authority: he brought Poitiers * for an example, where, notwithstanding the mandates they had obtained from him, yet they had laboured for two years ineffectually, to procure a settlement in that city, though, at the same time, it had solicited that a royal college might be founded there. Father Cotton replied, that nothing could be inferred from the behaviour of the inhabitants of Poitiers, which could affect the other cities, because they would not be so unfortunate as to be opposed by persons so powerful, so respected in the province, nor even so much favoured by his majesty, as their enemies of Poitiers were.

THE king had not here any occasion for all that penetration on which he sometimes valued himself, which enabled him to discover by the gestures only, and the turn of the countenance, of those who spoke to him, all that passed in their hearts †. He answered the father, that he perfectly understood what he had else to say, but that it was a mere ca-

* What the author here says of the difficulty the jesuits found to gain a reception in Poitiers, is the more surprising, as the Septenary reckons this city by name, amongst the number of those who desired to have the jesuits with them. fol. 433, Matthieu counts twenty of these cities, and Poitiers as one of them; “ because, says he, their colleges, and their manner of instructing their scholars, were better than any others.” Vol. II. b. iii. p. 606 and 686. If I did not see that the bishop and treasurers of France were named here, I should conclude, that what M. de Sully calls the city, and the greatest part of the citizens, meant only the Calvinists, who perhaps in fact were the greatest part. The bishop of this city, who was particularly intimate with that minister, as appears from both their letters, mentioned in these Memoirs, as well as a great number of the inhabitants of it, even catholics, might, perhaps from motives of policy, oppose the establishment of the jesuits, being persuaded they should, by that means, make their court to the governor of the province, though he did not openly require it of them: on principles like these, men frequently

act and form their conduct in life, to the disgrace and at the expense of the religion they profess. This notion, not entirely without foundation, may, in some degree, point out to us what may be said in defence, or at least in justification, of father Cotton, touching the difference between M. de Sully and him, which the author here begins to relate. It may also be applied to the complaints these Memoirs, a little lower, put into the mouth of the people at Poitiers, that the jesuits, having at last been admitted there, the college in that city, from being a good one, as it was before, immediately became good for nothing, and that the success those fathers met with proceeded entirely from the difference they occasioned between the two parties. These two or three articles have a natural relation to each other; and one may also add to them, the opposition the city of Meiz made against receiving the jesuits, which will also be mentioned below.

† Matthieu has observed the same thing of Henry IV. “ He could form a judgment, says he, of a man’s actions and words, from his look and manner.” Vol. II. b. iv. p. 807.

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lummy, for which he had no other foundation, than some reports which had been made him; for that having spoke to me himself of this matter before, I was so far from discovering such intentions as were attributed to me, that I had assured him I would raise no obstacles to their attempts; and that I would give them my assistance. "Ah! sire," replied the father, God keep me from offending in any manner those you love, and by whom you think yourself so faithfully served; I will love them and serve them myself: but if your majesty has any inclination to be convinced of the truth by incontestible proofs, nothing is more easy than to produce such as shall leave no doubt of the certainty of what I have had the honour to tell you." The king asked, with still greater earnestness, if he was sure he could prove what he had advanced? The father again confirmed it. "Well," said Henry, leaving him, "I will consider of this matter." And he sent for me that instant.

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As soon as I came to the Tuilleries, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the orangerie, where, as we walked, he asked me, as if without any design, how the affair went on at Poitiers, about the Jesuits founding a college there. I replied, that I was wholly ignorant of their proceedings, having resolved not to concern myself with them, for those considerations I had mentioned to his majesty. "Think well what you say, replied this prince, for they would persuade me that it is you alone who prevent their establishment in that city." I assured him, with an oath, that I had never, directly nor indirectly, opposed their settling there, nor even expressed the least dislike to it. "Well, said the king, since it is so, take no notice of this matter to any one." On his entrance again into the Louvre, he took father Cotton aside: "Who has told you these idle tales of M. de Rosny?" said he, "they are absolutely false, as I indeed suspected they were." "They will not be found so," replied the father; and for a proof of his assertion, told him, that I had written several to the bishop of Poitiers, the treasurers of France in that city, to Saint-Marthe, and others, with whom I could do any thing; expressly ordering them to oppose the settling of the Jesuits there. He added, that he had seen these letters himself; and that they were in the hands of a man of strict honour, who had allowed him to read them. "Can you shew me these letters?" said the king. "Yes, sire, replied the Jesuit, whenever your majesty pleases." The king, who till now had suspended his belief, could not for this once hinder himself from being influenced to my prejudice. "I will talk to you to-morrow,

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" said he to the father, and give you all the necessary orders upon this affair."

I CAME the next morning to the Tuilleries at eight o'clock, the king having sent me orders to attend him very early : he talked to me of the usual dispatches and the present affairs ; then taking me again into the orangerie, I guessed immediately, by the very turn of his countenance, part of what he was going to say to me. " You know, said he, how much I love you, but you likewise know how much I love truth and hate all insincerity ; you have used it with me ; and although I never conceal any of my secrets from you, you have dissembled with me, in the answer you gave me to the question I asked you concerning the Jesuits. I am not offended at your conduct in that affair ; as they never discovered any great friendship for you, it could not therefore be expected that you should become their advocate ; but I am grieved to find that you are capable of dissimulation, you who profess to be a lover of truth and sincerity."

My astonishment was so great that I listened to the king in a profound silence ; at length, recovering myself, " Sire, said I, this is one of the blackest impostures that ever was invented ; the only favour I implore is, that you will insist upon a free explanation of this matter. If the Jesuits can prove their accusation to be true, inflict what punishment you please upon me, I shall never complain ; but if it is found to be false, suffer me, sire, I most humbly implore you, to do myself a public justice, that I may prevent such designs from being undertaken against me for the future ; for if there is a necessity for my being continually employed in defending my conduct, it will be longer possible for me to attend to state affairs, the number and weight of which are already more than I can well bear." " What ! interrupted the king, have you not written any thing against the Jesuits, and prevented their founding a college in Poitiers ? think a little, and refresh you memory, that you may not engage to maintain any thing of which the contrary may be proved against you." " No, sire, I replied, I swear by my God and all my hopes of salvation, that what I say is true." " What malignant minds are these," pursued the king, moved with a just indignation, " which can never cease to envy virtue, or be weary of their fruitless attempts to ruin those who are faithful to my service ; leave this affair to me, continued he, I will search it to the bottom, and discover, if possible, both its source and its authors."

HE left me at these words to go and hear mass at the convent of the Capuchins, where he knew he should find father Cotton; and, calling him, renewed the discourse of the preceding days, and asked for the letters which he said he had seen. "Those letters, sire," said the father, are in the hands of a person of honour, and I will answer for the truth of what that person said, as well as that the letters he shewed me are genuine." "It is enough," returned the king, but go and bring them to me that I may see them; I know his hand-writing and his signature as well as my own, having received more than two thousand letters from him in my life." The father, perplexed by so unseasonable an order, endeavoured to elude it, by appealing to his majesty's knowledge of his veracity, and his aversion to all kinds of falsehood. "I am willing to believe you," said this prince to him; but I would also have others believe you, by shewing them these letters; therefore do not fail, pursued he in a severe tone, to bring them to me, for I am determined to see them, that I may convict of malice and fraud those who are really guilty. Go, and return again immediately."

THERE was no reply to be made to an order so positive; the father retired with a low reverence; but the king expected him in vain all the remainder of that day: he apologized for it the next morning, on account of the absence of the person who was possessed of these letters. But there was a necessity to find another excuse for returning without them, which would cost the father much more. He told the king, that this nobleman's valet de chambre had unfortunately thrown those letters into the fire with other papers. But for want of the letters, he brought a thousand new assurances of the truth of what he had advanced. The king, however, was not disposed to pay himself with that sort of coin: "How!" said he, interrupting him, in a rage, "have they burned these letters? this is not to be believed." And perceiving that father Cotton, who was sensible this affair would not rest as it was, equivocated in his answers, and seemed desirous that nothing more should be said of it, he quitted him in disgust. "Rofny," said he, approaching and taking me aside, "your letters have been burnt."

I CAME again to his majesty, to propose an expedient to him which I thought would entirely silence my accuser; this was, to prevail upon the king to write to the bishop of Poitiers, and the officers of that city,

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city, to produce all the letters they had received from me; and to write to them myself in the most open manner upon the subject. I carried with me all the originals of these letters, in which his majesty found nothing to take offence at: he ordered his secretaries to write those letters, which were to be in his name, immediately; and sent them to Poitiers in the same packet with mine, by a courier named Constant. Upon the receipt of these letters, the bishop and the magistrates of the city sent the sieur de La-Parisiere to give his majesty all the informations he desired. La-Parisiere, in the name of all his fellow-citizens, attested, with regard to me, that they had always considered my letters as written with favourable intentions towards the Jesuits; and presented to the king all they had been able to collect.

AMONG a great number which related only to the affairs of the province, four were found in which the Jesuits were mentioned; three of these letters, directed to Saint-Marthe the lieutenant-general, and to his brother, separately, and the office of the finances, were copies of each other; and after other matters were discussed, concluded with these words: "With regard to the Jesuits college, I know not why
 " you make so many difficulties about that, and persist in your solicitations for the royal college, of which you have written to me, since
 " you know, as La-Parisiere has often told you from me, that you
 " will never obtain of the king what is necessary for it, and that he
 " absolutely commands the other should be allowed; it is your part
 " therefore to act prudently, and do that with a good grace, which in
 " the end you will be obliged to do whether willing or not: be it
 " your care only, upon receiving them, to make such regulations as
 " may not leave it in their power to disturb the tranquillity of the city
 " or province; or make any alteration in that union at present maintained between the two religions, that the king may be served with
 " duty and affection by all."

THE fourth letter, addressed to the bishop of Poitiers, is yet stronger: after some business and some compliments, which made up the first part of it, the king read these words: "I always doubted, that the
 " Jesuits would not find people as kind and charitable in actions as
 " in words: for my own part, if the province is willing they should
 " have a settlement in it, and that they will resolve to live quietly there,
 " without embittering the minds of the people, or doing any thing to
 " disturb that harmony which at present subsists between the two religions, I should be glad to see them in my government, and will do
 " them

"them all the service I can; but if they foment divisions there, or give rise to any jealousies and distrusts, I had rather they were any where else."

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THE king's courier, as he passed through Paris, which his majesty had just quitted and set out for Fontainebleau, left for me a particular answer to the letter I had written to the bishop of Poitiers, of which these are the contents; That father Mouffy, the Jesuit, had brought him a letter from father Cotton, in which this father mentioned certain letters, supposed to be written by me to him, against the establishment and honour of the society, and the complaints which this father, believing them to be true, had made of me to his majesty. The bishop added, that after reading this letter, he had obliged father Mouffy to own, that his brother had been greatly to blame to believe a matter of such consequence so lightly; and acted still more imprudently to write it, and bring it to the ears of the king: that father Mouffy had seen all the letters, and found nothing in them which could authorize such an accusation, and undertook to undeceive father Cotton, by acquainting him with what he had seen.

THE bishop of Poitiers, who really believed the existence of this imaginary letter of accusation against me, which father Cotton had told him in his had been sent from Poitiers, and who thought, probably, that it would do both me and him service to discover the author of it, sent me word, that he would use his utmost endeavours to find it out; and that he had been told, the preceding day, that it was signed *Guillaume*; but that no person knew better than father Cotton himself; for although, as he was likewise informed, it was that father who had thrown this letter into the fire, yet he could not have forgot the subscription of it: the bishop's letter is dated March 23, 1605. I shewed it to Sillery, who set out for Panfou, from whence he went to Fontainebleau, to make his report to his majesty: but the king ordered me to bring this letter to him at Fontainebleau, together with the copies of those which had been sent me from Poitiers. I perceived that this new proof of my sincerity had increased his esteem for me.

THE next day he sent for Richelieu and Pont-Courlay, and asked them if they knew who it was that had suggested to father Cotton the complaints he had made against me? and whether they had any share in it? They replied, that very far from engaging themselves in the affair,

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affair, they had earnestly advised father Cotton never to mention to the king those letters, whether supposititious, or written by some impostor under a feigned name; because that if his majesty gave credit to my words in matters wherein my religion might render me suspected, he had much more reason to believe me, rather than those idle reports received to my prejudice. The king answered, that they must prevail upon me to use the same moderation in this business as they had advised father Cotton to, and prevent, said he, all occasions of misunderstanding between my faithful servants, as well in political as ecclesiastical affairs. He permitted them, if they could not by any other means reconcile us to each other, to throw part of the blame upon himself.

I SUBMITTED with a good grace to this reconciliation: after the two agents had assured me father Cotton had no intention to injure me, they entreated me to allow the father to wait on me, and assure me of the truth himself. I consented, and they brought him the next day. This father told me, that it was true, he had complained of having a secret enemy, who opposed the establishment of a college at Poitiers, but that he had no thought of me. However, his majesty had understood that he meant me, and made me believe so likewise: that although in this whole affair there was only a mistake, yet he was extremely afflicted that it had given me any disturbance, the remembrance of which he would endeavour to efface by the most faithful services. In this manner was an affair concluded, which had given both parties a great deal of trouble.

IT was probably in consequence of this reconciliation, that father Richeome of Bourdeaux presented me, at the close of this year, by father Cotton himself, a book of his writing, with a most flattering dedication to me: he takes notice in this dedication, that although this book could not be very agreeable to the professors of my religion (for it treated of the pilgrimage to Loretto) yet he made no scruple to offer it me, and did not doubt of its being favourably received, on account of my attachment to the king (to whom indeed the highest eulogiums were given in it;) to this motive he added a second, which was purely of his own invention, that he had been assured I felt in myself a strong disposition to embrace the roman catholic faith, a disposition which increased every day; and reminded me of a little present he had made me the the preceding year, which was a book, intituled, *The Apologetic*

getic Remonstrance of the Jesuits to the King *. I told him, in my answer, that knowing myself to be capable of loving even my enemies, his society might from thence judge what were my sentiments concerning those who professed themselves my friends. I returned him compliments for compliments, wishes for wishes, and even book for book; for I sent him the *Journey to Jerusalem*, in return for that of *Loretto*.

IF any one doubts that these professions of esteem which were made me by the Jesuits were not sincere, let him suspend his judgment for a moment, and he will know what to ascribe them to; I will not omit any circumstances of the fact I am going to relate, as I do not imagine they will seem tedious to the reader, since they concern persons so distinguished at court as the duke d'Epemon, and Grillon †, colonel of a regiment of guards.

* This is the last of that father's works against Antony Arnaud: he wrote many books with great success on behalf of his order.

† Lewis Berto de Grillon or Grillon, a gentleman of Avignon, as remarkable on account of the peculiarities in his temper as his intrepidity, which had procured him the name of Dread nought. I find in the life of the duke of Epemon a story very proper to be related along with what the duke of Sully tells us of this gentleman. "The duke of Guise, to whom he had been sent after the reduction of Marseilles, having a mind to try his courage, says the historian, agreed with some gentlemen, to give a sudden alarm before Grillon's quarters, as if the enemy had been masters of the town; at the same time he ordered two horses to the door; and going up into Grillon's room, told him all was lost; that the enemy were masters of the port and town; that they had forced the guards, and broke and put to flight all that opposed them; that finding it impossible to resist them any longer, he thought it was better for them to retreat, than by suffering themselves to be taken, add to the enemy's victory; that he had therefore ordered two horses to be brought, which were ready at the door; and desired he would make haste, for fear they should give the enemy time

to surprize them. Grillon was asleep when the alarm was given, and was hardly awake whilst the duke of Guise was saying this to him. However, without being at all disconcerted by so hot an alarm, he called for his cloaths and his arms, saying, They ought not, on too slight grounds, to give credit to all that was said of the enemy; and, even if the account should prove true, it was more becoming men of honour to die with their arms in their hands, than to survive the loss of the place. The duke of Guise, not being able to prevail on him to change this resolution, followed him out of the room; but when they were got half way down stairs, not being able to contain himself any longer, he burst out a laughing; by which Grillon discovered the trick that had been played him. He thereupon assumed a look much sterner than when he only thought of going to fight, and squeezing the duke of Guise's hand, said to him, swearing at the same time (for he always began his discourse with the most horrible oaths) Young man, never make it a jest to try the courage of a man of honour; for, by God! hadst thou made me betray any weakness, I would have plunged my dagger in thy heart: and then left him, without saying a word more." Page 176.

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GRILLON had at first the same unfavourable sentiments for me with which almost all the courtiers were tainted; but after a little adventure which happened at the siege of Charbonnières, during the war with Savoy, his friendship for me became stronger than his hatred had ever been. Grillon, at that time, was quartered at Aiguebelle, a little town at the bottom of a fort, where he commanded our foot, and often came to visit the quarter of the artillery, where I was; he happened one day to be with me in a meadow, from whence I was observing a ravelin which I wanted to have battered down; and myself, and those that accompanied me, were within reach of a battery, from whence the discharges began to be so frequent, that I resolved to defer doing the business I was about till a fitter opportunity, when we needed not uselessly endanger our lives. "How! *morbieu*, my grand master," said Grillon to me, with an air and tone of voice peculiar to him, "are you afraid of guns in the company of Grillon? *Arnidiou!* since I am here they will not dare to come nigh us; let us go to those trees I see about two hundred paces from hence, we may reconnoitre the ravelin there with less danger." "Let us go then, replied I, smiling, since we are trying who shall shew himself most mad; but since you are the oldest, I would willingly allow you to be the wisest also." Probably I should have done better to have paid no attention to what he said. I took his hand, and led him so far beyond the trees he had pointed to, that the bullets began to whistle strongly in our ears. "*Arnidiou!*" said Grillon, these rogues have no regard to the grand master's baton, or the cross of the Holy Ghost, and may probably lame us; let us gain that range of trees and those hedges, which may shelter us; for, *par la corbieu*, you are an honest fellow, and worthy to be grand master: I will, during my whole life, be one of the most faithful of your servants; let us vow an inviolable friendship to each other; do you promise me yours?" I took his hand, which he held out to me in token of union, and from that moment he continued to love me with a greater affection than he had ever shewn to any other person whatever, not even, as it was said, to the king himself; and this adventure, which had given rise to it, he talked of to every one.

By what means I regained the duke of Epemon's friendship has been already mentioned. About the beginning of the year, he came to me and desired that I would direct his appointments, as colonel of a regiment of guards, to be paid him in ready money. I represented to him, that he had

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been paid already all he could with reason demand upon that account ; and that what he farther required, was but a possession without a claim, or rather an usurpation, which his favour with Henry the third had given him an opportunity of committing (for this was a discovery I had lately made) and that I was resolved to cut it off for the future, unless he brought me an order from the king, by which this supplement was granted him in the manner of a gratuity. D'Epéron, offended at this discourse, complained to the king, and endeavoured to persuade him that I was become his enemy. His majesty, to undeceive him, reminded him of the council held at Blois, wherein I opposed the advice given by the count de Soissons, to arrest him with marshal Biron. This circumstance, which d'Epéron had never before been acquainted with, made a great impression upon his mind. " Do you assure me, " Sire, said he to the king, that it was from M. de Rosny I received " this act of friendship." " Yes, I assure you of it, replied this prince, " for I am not used to lie, especially in things of consequence."

D'EPÉRON left Fontainebleau the same day, and set out for Paris in a hired coach, having sent one of his own before to Essonne, where it was to wait for him ; I had left Paris in the same manner, his majesty having sent for me to Fontainebleau : d'Epéron and I met each other in a place over-against a chapel above Essonne ; the duke ordered his coachman to stop, and called out to me, that he entreated I would give him an opportunity to say one word to me : we both alighted. " I " have too long," said he, approaching me, " been under a great obligation to you, without paying you those acknowledgements you " merit from me." He then repeated what the king had just told him, and, in the transport of his gratitude, loaded me with praises, and assurances of the most inviolable friendship. I replied, with my usual sincerity, that he was under no obligation to me, on account of the circumstance he mentioned, since it was the business of every honest man to take the part of innocence, exclusive of all interest and views of any kind, and that hereafter he would be still better convinced, that all my intentions, with respect to him, had been equitable, and more so than he had sometimes believed. This affair produced such a perfect good intelligence between us, that, eight days after, being upon the point of setting out for Guienne, d'Epéron made me a visit to request one of those little favours of me with which a man takes pleasure to oblige his friends.

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THE duke had been informed that some persons, who were enemies to him, earnestly solicited Grillon to resign his colonel's commission, in favour of another whom he had likewise as little reason to love; and, knowing that Grillon was wholly governed by my advice, he entreated me to prevent his resigning this post till he returned from Guienne: and this I promised him. During d'Epemon's absence, his majesty was told some things to his disadvantage, which determined him to give the post to a man who was not so much devoted to the duke d'Epemon as Grillon: it was not with this view, that the affair was proposed to Grillon from the king, but because he, in reality, was not very diligent in the exercise of this employment, and was soon to take a journey to Provence, where his stay was likely to be very long. He was given to understand, that it was for these two reasons his majesty wished he would dispose of this employment, and promised to procure him a good price for it.

GRILLON, singular and fantastic to the last degree, and already a little disordered in his brain, only shook his head without answering the three first times that they mentioned the king's intentions to him. He afterwards suspected, that it was I whom the king had in view to succeed to his employment; and when he came to take leave of me, asked of me if it was not so, making me, at the same time, many offers of service: it was with great difficulty that I could put this notion out of his head, and was obliged to tell him, that I would not accept of this employment, although it should be given me for nothing. "How! returned Grillon immediately, sure you do not think an employment which Grillon has possessed unworthy of you; *Arniebleau*, my grand master, you are very vain, for since I have filled it, it is worthy of the best of you." "I know, replied I, that one Grillon is of more value than a thousand Rosnys; but I have other reasons which hinder me from thinking of it." "Oh, very well, that is enough," said he: and then, without my solicitation, engaged not to resign it till I should advise him to it, and then only to that person who should be agreeable to me: and from this time, he would not give a serious answer to any of the proposals that were made him on this subject.

AT length the king was obliged to talk to him himself; he sent for him, and repeated the same arguments which were used to him before, to prevail upon him to resign a post, the duties of which were incompatible

patible with the long stay he proposed to make in his native country, adding a thousand kind and obliging things upon the valour and services of Grillon. "By what I can understand, Sire, replied Grillon, you want me to quit your service, and that I should become absolutely papistical; for you know I am born a subject of the Pope." "Ah no, Grillon, replied his majesty, that is not my intention:" then adding new reasons drawn from the nature of his employment, "So then in good earnest, said Grillon to him again, you would have me resign my employment; and since it is your desire, I will not do it, at least to the person for whom I hear it is designed." 1605.

THIS speech indeed was no great indication of a sound mind; he withdrew in a rage, but the king, who knew his humour, only laughed at him: he even took a resolution to speak to him no more of the matter, so little was this prince inclined to use any restraint to persons who had served him faithfully. But happening to mention this little extravagance of Grillon before Roquelaure, Zamet, Piles, Fortia, and some other captains of the regiment of guards, one of them said, that there were but two ways to render Grillon tractable, which were, to employ d'Epernon in the affair, and to tell him that it was for me, and in my name, that he asked him for his post. The king replied, that he would never dispose of it, at the solicitation of the duke d'Epernon; neither did he desire that I should accept of it: but that he believed I would not refuse to entreat Grillon to yield it to the person he had in view. His majesty did not name this person, but only added, that he was worthy of it by his abilities, and rich enough to give Grillon a good recompence for it. Henry then ordered Piles, Fortia, and Zamet, to come to me and make this proposal, as of a thing that would be very agreeable to him, but without owning that they had his orders for mentioning it.

AT first I made no other answer to these gentlemen, than that I had private reasons for not meddling in the affair; but upon their pressing me to disclose these reasons, I informed them, with my usual sincerity, of the engagement I had entered into with the duke d'Epernon, which was, as I may say, the pledge of our reconciliation. When these words were related to the king, he was immediately seized with so violent a transport of rage against me, that, as he afterwards owned to me, he never remembered to have borne me so much ill-will before: doubtless the occasion of it would appear very slight, if I did not, at the same time, inform the reader that it was in this year, and at this very time, that

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that my enemies had then actually given me the severest blow they had ever aimed against me, and brought me, in reality, within an inch of my ruin, or at least of my dismissal from my employments, to the last of which I think I should have readily submitted. Libels, letters, informations, malicious insinuations, atrocious calumnies, all that envy could suggest most injurious and most horrid, had been practised, and still continued to be practised every day against me, all which I shall particularise hereafter: for the present it is sufficient to say, that the poison had been so subtilly applied, that the king, although he had long been aware of the malice of my enemies, had not been able to avoid being tainted with it, and it had reached even to his heart.

I SHALL not here use the ordinary style of those who have suffered such trials, when they exclaim, with so much vehemence, against the ingratitude and injustice they have met with from princes; I always suspect that such outcries proceed either from great vanity, or great ignorance of the human heart. To make calumny against the absent successful, nothing more is requisite than to find the means of opening the mind to suspicion, and to those, who, having every thing to govern and direct, have likewise every thing to foresee and to fear, innumerable arguments will occur to keep alive and justify this suspicion. How many appearances of fidelity, so well disguised that truth itself could hardly assume any other face, especially before kings, from whom one would imagine she delights to conceal herself? But are there not many ministers likewise, who, from being loyal and affectionate, have become traitors to their sovereigns? To all these considerations, Henry, on his side, added a too curious and too active research into all possible contingencies, wherein, for the present or the future, any danger to the state might be apprehended; and I, on mine, too little solicitude to lessen his suspicion, which was not so much the effect of indifference, as the mark of a conscience clear and irreproachable: it is not surprising therefore, that the artifices of my enemies, had made so deep an impression in the mind of Henry. However, I have always, after this, laid it down for a maxim, that any sovereign who imagines such a conduct necessary to support his interests and authority, takes the direct method to ruin both, by lessening himself that respect and deference which he ought to oblige his subjects to shew to those to whom he has confided those interests, and by whom that honour is maintained.

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WHEN the three men, whom the king had employed in the affair of 1605. Grillon, had acquainted him with what I had said, which had occasioned those transports of rage against me, Villeroy, Sillery, La Varenne, and father Cotton, came very seasonably for him to discharge this heavy burthen upon. I had no reason to think, that this accidental meeting was a favourable effect of the influence of my stars; for he repeated my words to them, and his own sentiments upon them, with the most violent emotions of rage. "How!" said he to them, perceiving that they made him no answer, "you are silent, you say not a word; but by heaven, pursued he, all this looks ill; for since fire and water mingle so well together (it was d'Epernon and me whom he meant) there must be higher designs, at least on one side, than I could ever have imagined; but I shall take care to prevent them." It was absolutely in the power of those four persons, to whom the king addressed this discourse, to prevent these suspicions from going so far; one word only would have sufficed: but they took care not to say that word, but, on the contrary, upon the king's saying, that while I continued faithful in my allegiance, and the performance of my duty, I was the most useful servant he had, and that he should never cease to lament the loss of me, they, to add fuel to fire, under a feigned solicitude to alleviate his majesty's disquiet, began to praise, with the utmost ardour, my great abilities in the management of affairs, the unwearied application I was capable of, and the active turn of my mind. From hence they inferred the great need which all the members of the state had of me, and the dependance which that necessarily introduced; they exaggerated the high credit I had acquired among foreigners, and with what ease I could put every thing in motion, without stirring out of my closet; praises which I neither merited in their good nor bad sense. Certainly envy can assume every disguise, since it can oblige men, not only to praise those whom they most abhor, but in their praises outdo flattery itself.

THE four confidants had reason to applaud themselves for this last stroke of policy, when they found they had not allayed the king's anger against me, but only to mix with it the strongest emotions of jealousy, distrust, and apprehension: that this was the state of his mind they were well assured, when he told them, that, if I resigned myself up to the ambitious desire of becoming head of a party, my credit was so great, and my friends so numerous, that I was able to do the state more harm, than admiral Coligny had ever been able to do. My enemies now thought

1605. thought there was nothing more necessary to be done, but to suffer those black suspicions to work in his mind, and wait the effect; accordingly they took leave of the prince, after having thus instilled the poison into his heart. Henry, in this state of mind, was no longer capable either of secrecy or art; he spoke of me publicly as of a rebel, and the whole court was immediately filled with the noise of my disgrace, and the expectation of my approaching ruin.

I HAD likewise many friends there, who had, a long time before matters came to this point, informed me of all that was practising against me by my enemies, and of what was said by the king. I am not sure, whether it would not have been more prudent to act upon this occasion as I had already done on many others of the same nature, in which Henry of himself returned from his suspicions and disgusts, to his usual manner of thinking with regard to me. It is a mortifying thing for innocence to be perpetually employed in supporting itself by proofs, and exaggerate its merit by praises: a man who thinks he ought to owe his elevation to virtue alone, feels an honest shame at being obliged to secure that elevation by methods less worthy; yet it is evident, on many occasions, that if virtue is not assisted by chance and industry, her own strength is not sufficient to protect her from the hatred, and even from the contempt of the public. So many repeated advices as I received, determined me at length to write a letter to the king. His majesty had not yet fixed, for any considerable time, in any of his palaces, but had consumed the months of January and February in journeys to Saint-Germain (where his children were) and Monceaux, staying but a short time at each place; and, on the 13th of March, the day on which my letter was dated, was at Chantilly. I shall not transcribe this letter here, as I have no crime to efface, nor no particular action to justify; it contained only general assurances of innocence, and arguments simple indeed and unstudied, but which, on that very account, ought to have had the more weight.

I OBSERVED to his majesty, that, during twenty-two of the thirty-three years which I had been in his service, the favours I had received from him had been but very small, although I had been at considerable expences; yet since that consideration, the lowness of my fortunes, and the prospect of a decent establishment elsewhere, which might have given some excuse for my abandoning him, could not prevail upon me to do so; it was not credible I should do so now, when I saw myself so generously rewarded, when my fortune could only encrease, and
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when so many favours, which I every year received from my king in a manner wholly obliging, attached me no less to his person, than my offices and employments. It was not probable therefore, I said, that I should hazard the being deprived of one half of these advantages, by the hand which had heaped them on me, and of the rest by the reverses of fortune: that I defied all my enemies to charge me with the actual commission of any crimes of which I would not clear myself, in two words, whenever his majesty informed me of it; that all those accusations were no more than mere possibilities, upon which he was too wise and too just to condemn any person, under whatever colour of supposition, probability, imputation, calumny, or even of praise, they might be presented to him: but setting all this aside, I entreated him not to conclude me guilty, but upon solid proofs: that I should wait without fear the efforts of my enemies, and submit, without repugnance, to all the rigour of the law, and all the effects of his anger, if the smallest crime could be proved against me; being most certain that if, in the great number of employments with which I was invested, he could charge me with the commission of any fault, it would not be where my honour or duty was concerned, but an effect of my ignorance or incapacity; in which case I was ready, at his least command, to resign all my offices into his hands, chusing rather the obscurity of a private life with his favour, than the splendor of the highest dignities with his hatred.

I WAS convinced, by the answer which his majesty sent me, that the informations I had received were not false; he addressed me in it with the title of cousin instead of friend: though short, it was not written with his own hand; a kind of circumspection and reserve, which was not usual with him, ran through it, and not one word of consolation found a place: the king only observed to me coldly, and in few words, that it was my business to suffer the world to talk of me as it pleased, and continue to serve him well. I pretended, however, to be satisfied with this letter, and, after having done all that was necessary upon this occasion, conscious of my own innocence, I was persuaded that eagerness and precipitation did not become me; I therefore waited till his majesty was willing to enter into a discussion of the affair with me, and continued to act as usual.

THE king, after staying at Chantilly six or seven days, quitted it to return to Paris, where his presence was necessary: he began to have a fondness for the former, from whence also he wrote to me, that he was

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much better in health (as I should perceive by his countenance as soon as I saw him) that he eat and slept well there, never rising before seven o'clock, though he went to bed at ten or eleven. I expected, at least, that he would mention my letter to me when he returned to Paris, but I was mistaken; he took not the smallest notice of it, although he stayed there eight days, and four mornings successively conferred with me on many different affairs as we walked in the Tullieres: Villeroi and Sillery indeed were present. After giving us all the necessary orders, he set out for Fontainebleau, still keeping up the same reserve in all the letters he wrote me from thence, during the remainder of this month, as well upon general as private affairs.

It was here, as I observed a little before, that they supplied all which was yet wanting to make his majesty resolve my ruin; and, as he staid there during the whole months of April and May, they had time sufficient to effect their purpose, and brought him to the point we have already seen. Calumny is like fire, which, the fiercer it burns, is extinguished the sooner, if no more fuel be added to it; and it is not so easy to support it as some have imagined, especially with princes, who act on principle. If their imaginations be quick and lively, and their temper precipitate like Henry's, the passions once inflamed will, at first, carry them very far from their purpose, but never so far but that they may be brought back by reason: and from dispositions like these one will have violent fits of anger to sustain; but to make amends, there is neither obstinate prejudice, imperfect reconciliations, nor studied artifices to apprehend. It was this reason which induced me to wait, with more patience than I should otherways have done, for the issue of an affair so complicated and perplexed; and without altering my behaviour, either while I was at Paris, or in those short excursions I made from time to time to Fontainebleau, I appeared always the same. My friends were not able to comprehend how I could enjoy a tranquillity which they were not capable of themselves, although so fully persuaded of my innocence, that all of them would have willingly become sureties for my conduct: they expressed great surprise at his majesty's behaviour to me, and could not keep silence at court, and probably in secret taxed the prince with injustice. All the kind offices of sincere and affectionate relations I received from the family of Lorraine upon this occasion.

At length my wishes and expectations were answered: the king finding that my enemies could bring no proofs of what they had advanced

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vanced against me, he began to fear he had been a little too hasty : my past services rose to his remembrance ; my present conduct, and the purport of my letter, dwelt upon his thoughts : he was struck with all this, and regreted that he had suffered any expressions of anger to escape him, being convinced that nothing was more just and reasonable than the request I had made him, that he would not condemn me without proofs of my guilt. One day when I was at Fontainebleau, he sent La Varenne, D'Escures, and Beringhen, to me, on pretence of some business, supposing I should tell them in confidence my difficulties and perplexity ; however, I confined myself wholly to the business they came about, and avoided mentioning any other subject. Villeroi and Sillery were sent to me afterwards for the same purpose, which I was convinced of as soon as I found that they had nothing to say to me, but on an affair of so little consequence, that it was not worthy the trouble they gave themselves ; this was about a dispatch from Ancel *, who managed the affairs of France at Vienna. I behaved to these gentlemen as I had done to the others : they had orders to advance, and draw from me, at any price whatever, a confession of my sentiments upon the treatment I received from his majesty. The reader will judge if they acquitted themselves faithfully of their commission, and like true mediators : they turned the conversation, from business, to the danger and difficulty of serving princes, and the mortifications ministers are frequently exposed to, and the uneasiness which slander must give to a man of honour : they afterwards gave me to understand more plainly, that a minister was not defended from these inconveniences under the reigning king.

I saw clearly enough, that these two gentlemen, by talking in this manner, executed indeed the orders they had received, but with so much additional art on their side, as made it evident they were very solicitous to find some occasion of realising my supposed crime, when they made their report to his majesty. To adopt their sentiments had been insolence, and silence might have been construed into obstinacy and pride : I therefore replied, with great composure, that I did not doubt but that there were princes in the world such as they represented, but that his majesty was too just and too good, to treat, in that manner, such servants whose behaviour had been irreproachable, as for example I believed my own to be ; that I was so well persuaded of this truth, that, although I should hear the contrary from his own mouth,

* William Ancel, master of the household, resident at Vienna.

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yet I should still think his tongue but ill explained the meaning of his heart. These words were sufficient to disconcert these malicious commissioners; but they had recourse to other artifices to force from me some expression of complaint or anger; and finding that they were not able to effect their purpose, they returned to tell his majesty not what I had said, but that I had said nothing at all, and that, contrary to my usual custom, I was so wrapt up in reserve, that I had not deigned to utter a single word. From hence it was easy to judge what these two gentlemen would have said, if I had given them the least opportunity of entrapping me. During the remainder of this day, I saw only such messengers as those; but was fully determined not to open myself, on this subject, to the king himself, unless he led to it first: and that he might see no alteration in my conduct, I prepared to set out the next morning for Paris, as the evening before I had told him I would.

I WAITED on his majesty as usual, to receive his orders before I went away; I found him in his closet, surrounded by the courtiers who were come to his levee, and getting himself booted to go to the chace. At my entrance, he arose half up from his chair, one of his boots being already on, and pulling off his hat to me, bid me good-morrow, ceremoniously calling me monsieur: all which discovered a mind either grieved or perplexed. His usual style to me was, My friend Rosny, or Grand master; but that confusion of mind he appeared to labour under, when, without seeming to know what he did, he struck the little ivory cylinders which he had in his hand one against the other, convinced me that I was not mistaken, when I concluded there was neither anger nor disgust in this behaviour. I had likewise made him a much more profound bow than usual; which, as he afterwards told me, moved him so much, that it was with difficulty he could restrain himself from throwing himself that instant upon my neck. He continued musing some moments longer, and then told Beringhen that it was not a good day for the chace, and that he would be unbooted. Beringhen, surprised at this sudden change of his intentions, replied, a little imprudently, that it was a very fine day. "It is not a fine day," replied Henry, with some emotion, "I will not ride this morning, take off my boots." That done, the king entered into a conversation, directing himself sometimes to one, sometimes to another, and chusing such subjects as he thought would afford me an opportunity of speaking: but observing I was still silent, he took Bellegarde by the hand; "M Le Grand, said he, let us walk, I would talk with you a little, that you may set out to-day on your journey to Burgundy." They
had

had some private business together, which related chiefly to some idle tales and quarrels of women. 1605.

WHEN they came to the door of the little stair-case which leads to the queen's garden, the king called L'Oserai, and, as he afterwards told me, bid him observe whether I followed him; and if I turned another way, not to fail to inform him immediately of it. I staid in the same place during the whole time that his majesty was talking to M. Le Grand, in the walk that leads to the garden of the Conciergerie; but I observed that he often turned his eyes upon me. After Bellegarde had taken leave of the king, I advanced, and desired to know if his majesty had any orders for me. "And where are you going?" said he. "To Paris, sire, replied I, upon the business you spoke to me of two days since." "Well, go then, replied the king, I still recommend to you the care of my affairs, and desire that you should continue to love me." I bowed low; he embraced me as usual, and I took the road to my own house; but scarce was I got to the distance of three hundred paces, when looking back I saw La-Varenne running after me, crying, Monsieur, the king would speak with you. His majesty, seeing me return, struck into the road which leads to the Kennel, and calling to me while I was yet at a distance, "Come hither, said he: have you nothing to say to me?" "No, sire, I replied, not at present." "Well then, I have something to say to you," answered he with precipitation; and taking my hand, led me into the grove of white mulberry-trees, and ordered two Swiss centinels, who did not understand French, to be placed at the entrance of the canals which surrounded the grove.

THE king began by embracing me twice in a most affectionate manner, which the courtiers easily perceived, for we were within view, and they carefully watched all our gestures; then calling me friend, and resuming his former familiarity with me, he told me with a look and accent which went to my heart, that the coldness and reserve with which we had for a month past behaved towards each other, must needs be very painful to two persons who, for three and twenty years, had been accustomed to the most unlimited confidence, and that it was time to deprive those who were the cause of it of an occasion of triumph, which flattered too much their hatred of me, and the envy with which they beheld his and his kingdom's increasing prosperity. The heart of this good prince opening as he spoke to me, he added, that, earnestly desiring we should both forget what had happened, he thought it necessary to leave me ignorant of nothing that had passed.

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on his side, either with respect to the informations which had been given him against me, the effects they had produced in his mind, and lastly, the words and actions by which he had made those unfavourable impressions public. He intreated, commanded, and made me promise to follow the example he was going to give me, to discover to him all the different emotions with which I had been agitated, and my sentiments both of the treatment I had received from him, and of the affair itself, with the same unreserved freedom he should use towards me; "That before we leave this place, said he, our minds may be wholly freed from doubts and suspicion, and both perfectly satisfied with each other; therefore as I shall open my whole heart freely to you, I must intreat you will not disguise yours from me." I gave him my word of honour that I would most faithfully obey this injunction.

THE king then began first, by naming all those persons who had endeavoured to injure me with him on that occasion, as well in effects as words, among which there were some of all ranks and ages, and many who had served his majesty as long as myself; these I believe I may divide into seven classes; in the first I shall place the princes of the blood, and great officers of the crown; in the second, the king's mistresses, with their children, and such as either through the ties of blood or friendship supported their interests and served their passions, among these were Cœuvres, Fresnes, Forget, Puget, Placin, Vallon, and many more; the marchioness of Verneuil was at the head of all. The rage which animated these two classes against me was excited by my having retrenched their gratuities: the third was composed of the partisans of Spain, and the remains of the old leaguers, whose politics and principles of government could not agree with the king's or with mine; and this class was increased by many members of the council, Villeroi, Sillery, Fresnes, Forget, and others, who acted in concert with the Jesuits: in the fourth I comprehend all the petit-maitres, court-favourites, and idle insignificant persons, who load Paris with an useless weight; these were actuated by their resentment against me, for preventing his majesty from bestowing such favours on them as they expected, and for the opposition of my manner of living and conduct to theirs; the number of these is too great, and themselves too contemptible, to fully the paper with their names: the fifth was made up of the seditious and malecontents of France, whom the flourishing condition of the kingdom, the wise œconomy of Henry, and the preparations he was making, which rendered him too powerful, incited to conspire my ruin:

ruin: the financiers and other men of business made up the sixth, and they indeed had no reason to be much my friends.

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THE seventh and last class was composed of another kind of court-flatterers, somewhat inferior to those I have already mentioned; these were ever ready to give advice, and sought to make their court to the prince by continually furnishing him with new projects for raising money; men for the most part formerly in place, and to whom nothing more of their once shining fortune remained, than the detestable science of impoverishing the people; which for their own interest, and by an effect of a long habitude in guilt, they endeavoured to teach his majesty; but finding that this trade was become much less profitable to them, since his majesty had confided to me the sole management of his finances, they practised another art which discovered dispositions nearly the same; this was, to invent slanders, dress up detraction like truth, and be the venal instruments of those who either durst not or would not appear themselves in the satirical libels which filled the court; it was by them that these contemptible pieces were composed, spread abroad, and the truth of them maintained and propagated; the dangerous talent of raillery, and lively sallies of wit, opened them a way to the company and familiarity of Henry, who loved an easy and spirited conversation. Although he was perhaps upon his guard against their malignant strokes at me, yet he could not at length avoid being touched by them. Some of those whom at first he had despised or banished from his presence, found means afterwards to make themselves be heard. In this list would be found none but names so obscure, that they do not deserve to be raked from the dust, such as Juvigny, Parafis, Le Maine, Beaufort, Bersot, Longuet, Chalange, Versenai, Santeny, &c. if Sancy, who merits the first place among them, had not completed his own dishonour by this vile trade, which helped to retard his ruin, when his folly and excess has left him no other resource. He was obliged to sell his jewels, and offered them to the king, who, because he was not willing they should go out of the kingdom, ordered me to purchase them*.

* M. de Sancy has had the misfortune to see himself treated in the most cruel manner in all the writings of the Calvinists of that time, without having in any degree deserved it from them, otherwise than by having abjured their religion. Joseph Scaliger speaks of him as a fanatic, full of

whimfies, &c. It would be doing him injustice, to read these accusations and injurious reflections, without having before one, at the same time, the apology of his conduct, written by himself; which may be seen in Villeroi's Memoirs, vol. III. pag. 127. He therein, among other things,

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THE king, after recounting the names of the authors, gave me a detail of their artifices. All that the wit of man could devise, when animated by an eager desire to destroy, was practised by them; wherever the king turned his steps, he saw nothing but informations, letters, libels, billets, and other papers of the same kind, not to mention the political memorials with which they presented him, under shew of zeal for the state, and affection for his person; these papers he found under his table, under the carpet of his chamber, and under his pillow; they caused them to be presented to him by persons unknown, they were given into his own hand in the form of petitions, and crammed into his sleeves and pockets. I was there painted in the most hateful colours, and the most injurious epithets were not spared, except when by the refinement of those treacherous praises which I have already mentioned, they exaggerated to his majesty my unwearied industry, my great abilities, the depth of my judgment, my manners, once rude and forbidding, now, as they said, became gracious and obliging to all. Henry, with great sincerity, owned to me, that he was so imposed upon by these artifices, that he had almost entirely lost the good opinion he had once conceived of me; and that these wretches had contrived to fill him with such a desire of knowing all their inventions, that at the very time when he seemed so weary of that infinite number of libels and informations, as to throw them aside without taking any notice of them; yet afterwards he could not resist the inclination he felt to collect them together, and cause them to be read to him.

IT must necessarily be, that this prince was prejudiced in a strange manner, since he could not perceive that these writings were often no less injurious to himself than to me; as for example, when he read, that I made him mercenary and unjust to those that served him faithfully, to whom, under pretended compensation for old debts, he refused what they had a lawful claim to; they likewise imputed weakness and timidity to him, in writing to me on all these occasions, which certainly was not greatly to his honour, whether in him they made it an excuse for his avarice, or a mark of his dependance. It was by these insinuations they began at first; and while they went no farther, the king, who found only new occasions to praise my administration, was not prejudiced against me; but to put these critics to silence, he

proves, in contradiction to what M. de Sully charges him with in this place, that by reason of the expences he had been put to in

the king's service, he was obliged to sell his jewels to the value of an hundred and fifty thousand crowns.

only

only required summaries of the state debts which I had discharged to shew them; and as for me, when I had an opportunity I severely re-
proved those persons for their too free censures, while, under a false
pretence of being denied justice, they suffered expressions to escape
them in their rage, with which his majesty had good reason to be of-
fended. But they soon left these slight accusations for others of greater
consequence.

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HENRY, to excuse the credulity with which he had believed these
slanders, would have me judge myself of the libels in which they
were contained. But as it would have been a tedious task to read
them all, he fixed upon one * which Juvigny had shewn him twelve
days before, and which had been made public, because in this all the
different calumnies which were scattered throughout many other libels
had been collected, which made it as complete as a work of that kind
could be: there was indeed some little intricacy in it, but it was writ,
however, with a sufficient force of style and judgment to persuade his
majesty that it proceeded from some other hand than Juvigny, whose
powers it greatly exceeded. The king, taking this paper out of his
pocket, told me, that by reading it I might possibly help him to find
out the author, whose name he would be glad to know. I received
it from his majesty's hands, and read it from beginning to end in his
presence. The reader, if he pleases, may here see the substance of it,
for it is not my intent to conceal any part of it.

THE author, whoever he was, began (and indeed no writing had
ever more need of such a precaution) by endeavouring to clear himself
of all suspicion of envy or prejudice: the great qualities of Henry, the
happiness which France enjoyed under his reign, the advantageous si-
tuation of his affairs, made a second preamble, very proper to captivate
the good-will of this prince, and still more to lead naturally to the
accusation he was to make against me, of having insolently boasted,
that this happiness was my sole work; and from thence, with great
art, introduced this reflection, that it was but too common for ministers
of such abilities, and favourites with so much power, to engage in de-

* This book was intituled, A political
discourse, shewing the king in what respects
his majesty is ill served. "It was privately
handed about at Paris, says l'Etoile, in
MS. the style of it was somewhat free

"and bold for those times, when all truths
were not allowed to be spoke; it never-
theless did not contain any thing against
the king or his service, but many things
against M. de Rosny."

1605. signs pernicious to the sovereign and the state. A crowd of examples, eloquently displayed, finished this part of the picture.

FROM thence the author proceeded, not to examine my actions, which alone could afford a just proof of his assertions, but to criticise my manners; and in the gracious reception I had lately given to all persons in general who came to my house, found an unanswerable proof of those pernicious designs; and added, that the number of persons, from the princes of the blood, down to the most inconsiderable of the people, which by this studied civility I had gained over to my interests, was almost incredible. He attempted to enumerate this crowd of partisans, which could not indeed but be very considerable, since all that this accusation was founded upon, was that complaisance and politeness of behaviour which in France it is the custom to treat every one with: the prince of Conti and the duke of Montpensier were at the top of the list, then the whole family of Lorrain; several French lords came next: my reconciliation with the duke of Epemon, because followed by a sincere and reciprocal friendship, was misrepresented under the name of an union formed by a boundless ambition. Messieurs de Montbazou, de Ventadour, de Fervaques, d'Ornano, de Saint-Geran, de Praslin, de Grammont, d'Aubeterre, de Montigny, de Schomberg, and others, were likewise mentioned as persons whom I attached to my interest by the distinction with which I treated them, the services I was perpetually doing them, and the distribution I made amongst them of part of his majesty's treasures, which I was so sparing of to all others.

ALL this not being sufficient to give probability to those views the author attributed to me, he added to it the correspondences I carried on without the kingdom. He mentioned an expression which fell from the king of England, and which might well be considered as a mere compliment, *That the king of France was happy in having me*, and made it an argument to prove, that I had violated the faith I owed to my prince; that not only his Britannic majesty, but likewise the states-general of the United Provinces, the dukes of Wirtemberg and Deux-Ponts, the landgrave of Hesse, the prince of Anhalt, the marquises of Anspach, Dourlach, and Baden, were ready to take my part blindly, and engage openly in my defence: the slightest service which any of them received from me, was construed into a criminal intrigue. All the protestant bodies, whether French or foreigners, as well as the Helvetian senate, being gained by the regularity of their payments, and

by largesses from me, were said to be absolutely devoted to my interests. 1605.

AFTER having thus made the first essay with accusations which carried in them some little appearance of probability, the author became more hardy, and impudently hazarded others, the falsity of which appeared at the first view. According to him, I did not content myself any longer with my correspondences in foreign countries alone, but by sending his majesty's money into England, the Low Countries, Germany, and Swisserland, I was laying up for myself immense sums, in order to retire there one day, and, as opportunities offered, make levies of Swiss, German horse, and Lanfquenets, to support the protestant religion, and, after the example of admiral Coligny, give up France to be preyed upon by these troops. The author, who doubts was sensible that a minute detail of circumstances was generally considered as a mark of truth and sincerity, particularized this event as if he was already a witness of it; he alledged, that by purchasing arms, iron, lead, brass, bullets, and other warlike stores, for his majesty's magazines, I had also private magazines of my own, in each of the strongest protestant cities, where I deposited those stores in my own name. Certainly these people would have had reason to congratulate themselves upon the success of these arts, if by this accusation they could have prevailed upon the king to discontinue his preparations. This admirable piece concluded with an exhortation to his majesty, to confide no longer to one person the management of his revenue, the use of his authority, and the administration of his affairs; but to associate with me some persons who might keep a vigilant eye over my conduct.

WHILE I was reading this memorial Henry observed me with great attention, but finding that I read it as I would have done any indifferent paper in which I was not the least concerned, without saying a single word, without betraying the least emotion, or even any change of colour; "Well, what do you think of it?" said he. "What is your opinion of it, sire?" replied I, you that have read it more than once, and kept it so long in your hands; for my part, I am not so much surprised at these sort of writings, which in effect are nothing but the trifling production of foolish and wicked men, as to find that so great a king, possessed of so much wisdom, courage, and goodness, and who has known me for so many years, would have patience to read them himself, and hear me read them throughout in his presence, "without

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“ without at least shewing by his anger the violence he did himself in
 “ listening to such calumnies, and without ordering the authors to be
 “ sought for to punish them severely.”

AFTER having thus spoken, I considered that the most effectual way to restore peace to the king's mind, and revive in him all his former sentiments of me, was to give a direct and particular answer to each of the accusations which my enemies brought against me; and this I had given him my word I would do. I confined myself therefore to Juvigny's libel, which I had still in my hands, that I might give a separate answer to each article. The rest of my enemies, who durst not attack me openly, for fear of being obliged to produce their proofs, merited only contempt: and it was with this observation that I began my answer. To the presumptuous and injurious discourses of his majesty's government, which they attributed to me, I opposed those words I had so often in my mouth, in which I pointed out the king as a model for those princes who would be good and great to form themselves by. The examples they produced of ministers who became traitors, and favourites ungrateful, could not affect the fidelity of a man who, like me, had laboured to perfect those great and amiable qualities he had derived from his illustrious ancestors. I desired them to produce a single person, whether a friend or kinsman, to whom I had given any gratuity without a sufficient reason, and a particular order from his majesty. Against the traitorous designs they imputed to me, of fomenting the civil wars, I appealed to Henry's knowledge of the affection I bore to my country, the attachment I ever had to his person, my solicitude for my own honour and reputation, and the opposition I had given on every occasion to the ill designs of the protestants, which had drawn the whole weight of their resentment upon me.

BESIDES, what advantage could I promise myself from these chimerical schemes, which I did not at present possess in the greatest and most honourable station to which any subject could aspire? what could be my aim? To place the crown on my own head; my enemies themselves did not accuse me of such a frantic ambition; to carry it out of the royal family, altho' it were in my power to dispose of it, on whom could I fix my choice, but the prince to whom I had, during thirty years, consecrated all my labours and my services, and for whose interests I had shed my blood, and devoted my life? Why, if I was the traitor they insinuated, did I still bend my whole cares to the increase of his glory,

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glory, by those noble designs which if I did not suggest, I was at least the sole confidant and promoter of? if I had views prejudicial to his crown, or dangerous to his person, why did I so earnestly seek to engage him in all those alliances with England, and the other powers of Europe? was not this acting directly against myself? is it by pursuing such measures as these, that ambitious and designing subjects have endeavoured to bring about revolutions, and to ruin the state? was it not rather by enervating the mind of their master, soothing his inclinations to luxury, indulging his passions, prevailing on him to violate the laws, to neglect all order and government, and to throw every part of the state into confusion? whereas I was continually laying before his majesty the state of his affairs, informing him of the use and destination of his money, and carrying my solicitude for order and economy so far, as to reproach him with even the smallest needless expence: I amassed him treasure, filled his magazines and arsenals, pointed out to him the means of rendering himself formidable to all Europe. It is not thus that rebellious subjects act, when they secretly undermine the foundations of their sovereign's power. The conduct of ministers is always equivocal in some part or other; however, I may truly say, that mine might stand the test of the strictest examination.

It was easy for me to perceive that his majesty felt all the force of these arguments; I concluded them with imploring him, in the most fervent manner, to believe that I had neither concealed nor disguised from him any of the thoughts of my heart; I confirmed these assurances by the most sacred oaths, which he knew I never uttered in vain; I addressed him by all those reverend and tender names which had, at all times, been the expressions of my zeal and attachment to his person. I would have embraced his knees, but he would not suffer it, lest those who beheld this posture might imagine I had recourse to it to obtain his pardon for a real crime: he told me, that he was fully convinced of my faith, that he sincerely repented of his credulity, and that he would never remember what was passed, but to impress upon his mind the obligation he was under to love me the better for it. This was the result of a conference which had been so necessary to restore quiet to us both.

Those who have any knowledge of a court, may easily guess the emotions which agitated the hearts of the courtiers, during a conversation which lasted more than four hours, and with what attention our words and actions were observed; for though it was not possible for them

1605. to hear what we said, yet they could not be ignorant of the subject we were upon. The manner in which Henry had received me in the morning, his recalling me after I had left him, the precaution he had used at the beginning of our conversation, the papers he had taken with him, the earnest manner in which we seemed to discourse, was sufficient to inform them of the rest; each, according to his fears or hopes, expected the result of so important an explanation between us.

HENRY was willing to tell it them himself. After receiving the papers again from me, which he was resolved to throw into the fire, he went out of the grove of mulberry-trees holding me by the hand, and asked this crowd of courtiers who were got together, what it was o'clock; they answered it was one o'clock, and that he had been walking a long time. "I have so," said the prince, in an accent which spread a paleness on every cheek; "but there are some present who are more weary than I am: however, to console them, I here declare before you all, that Rosny is dearer to me than ever, and that our friendship will continue till death; and you, my friend, pursued he, turning to me, "go home to dinner, and love me and serve me, for I am fully satisfied with you." Many others in the same situation I was in, would have * made use of their returning favour and interest, to exact vengeance on those who had laboured thus to procure their disgrace; but I thank heaven that I have not the reproach to make myself, of having even entertained such a thought. I carefully concealed their names from my secretaries, nor will I mention them here; I likewise suppress part of what the king said to me to their disadvantage: though they have acted in a quite contrary manner, yet it cannot alter my opinion, that this sort of revenge is unworthy of a generous mind.

THAT I might remove all cause of uneasiness from the king, concerning the affair which has led me into so particular an account of this great difference between us, I managed Grillon with such art, that he at length consented to take thirty thousand crowns of Crequy for his post, which, in respect to Lesdiguieres, his majesty had permitted that nobleman to purchase †. This drew many acknowledgments to me

* The sieur de Juvigny or Divigny, a French gentleman, author of the above-mentioned memorial, suffered for all the rest: a prosecution was carried on against him for high treason, and he was found

guilty, condemned to death, and all his effects to be confiscated, but having made his escape, he was hanged in effigy at Paris.

† Henry IV. though extremely dissatisfied with the duke of Epemon, who had from

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from the father-in-law and the son. Crequy came in person to make me these compliments, and added to them repeated assurances of gratitude and affection: Lefdiguieres wrote to me from Grenoble, and expressed himself in terms still stronger than Crequy had done. As we were before connected by alliances between our families, this last service they had received from me, made every one expect to see us for the future intimate friends; however, there was not any person by whom I was so easily abandoned, or received so many bad offices from, after the death of Henry, as from these two men: gratitude is not a virtue to be found amongst courtiers.

THE heart of Henry being once tainted with suspicions to my prejudice, it was not impossible but that the wound might again be opened. It was this hope, that supported my enemies amidst the mortifications and grief they suffered from the adventure at Fontainebleau. It was not long before they again returned to the charge, and (it is with regret I say it) were almost as successful as before*: the affair, however, did not become as public as the former had been, because it was sooner followed by an explanation, and it is needless to repeat it here. If my enemies from time to time enjoyed the pleasure of believing that I should sink under their efforts, yet they were soon undeceived, and those ineffectual attempts but increased their shame and rage; and had I been of a disposition to enjoy such victories, this last, being not less complete than the other, would have afforded me sufficient matter for triumph: it was likewise at Fontainebleau, that the king and I came to an expla-

retired to Angoulême, and made great complaints of the injustice he pretended the king had done him on this occasion, yet insisted that M. de Crequy should wait on him as his colonel, at the distance of a hundred leagues from Paris, to take the oaths before him, get his commission allowed by him, and receive his orders for being invested in his post. The duke of Epemon made him dance attendance after him for several days, and suffered him to wait a whole day at the door of his chamber. History of the duke of Epemon, p. 212.

* “The king,” says le Grain, b. vii. “advanced the duke of Sully in such a manner, that he always reserved a sufficient authority over him; and who knows but it might perhaps be a prudent measure in the king, thus to expose

“him to the hatred of many, against whom
“he was very able to protect him, in order
“to keep him under apprehensions of what
“might be the effects of his failing in his
“duty.” This passage in our Memoirs
seems, at first sight, to offer something in
favour of this conjecture: the opinion of
those nevertheless, who think there was no
artifice in the suspicions Henry IV. conceived
against the duke of Sully, appears to me
better founded; but whether his suspicions
were feigned or real, I also think, as many
other persons of sense do, that they ought
to be reckoned among that prince’s defects.
According to the first supposition, a low
cunning unbecoming the character of so
great a king is apparent; and according
to the second, a piece of injustice, for which
the first movements of a hasty passion
would be no excuse, there being a kind of
nation

1605. nation of this second difference; and the morning afterwards the king sent for me very early. As soon as I entered his chamber he took my hand, and led me towards a cross-barred window which looked into the queen's garden, having somewhat to impart to me in private; but as we passed, he said aloud, in the presence of the whole court, "You cannot conceive, my friend, how easily and happily I have slept this night, after having opened my heart to you, and had all my doubts cleared up." He then asked me, if I did not feel the same calm satisfaction; I replied that I did, and that he should always find in me the same fidelity and affection.

IN the midst of a favour so often interrupted by little jealousies and heats, what convinced me that the heart of Henry always leaned towards me was, that however dissatisfied my enemies might sometimes by their insinuations make him with me, yet it never interrupted the course of those benefits with which it was his constant custom to load me and my family. I had proofs of his beneficence with respect to my eldest daughter, amidst those very storms I have mentioned *. I had engaged my word to Fervaques, to give her to the young Laval, whom his majesty, as I have formerly observed, ordered me to prefer to the duke of Rohan; and the affair was upon the point of being concluded. One day, about the beginning of this year, when I was walking with the king upon the terrace belonging to the Capuchins, he again introduced this subject, and told me his reasons for desiring me to reject the duke of Rohan, which were, that the marriage of this lord with my

agreement between this prince and his minister, that the first should overlook, in the character of the other, that firmness and inflexibility of temper, incapable of a base submission and flattery, in consideration of a fidelity established on such numberless proofs. This is a sufficient evidence, that the performance of the most important services will not dispense a man from a flexibility to, and compliance with, the humour of princes, even the most perfect.

* Margaret de Bethune. This lady, to be revenged on her only daughter, who, against her will, had married Henry de Chabot, in the year 1645 set up a boy about fifteen years old, as being really her son by the duke of Rohan who died seven years before. "Many persons of credit,

"says Amelot, who have seen Tancred (the name of this pretended heir to the house of Rohan) have assured me, that he had the topping of the Rohan family, which is a small tuft of hair on the forehead, and that the features of his face were remarkably like those of his supposed father." To this anecdote we may add another, by which it is pretended that the duke of Rohan had a mind to purchase the kingdom of Cyprus of the Grand Seigneur for this child: it was also said, that his father and mother had kept him concealed only that they might marry their daughter to the count of Soissons, and afterwards to the duke of Weimar. See these curious fables in Amelot de La-Houffaye, article Bethune, &c. and art. Chypre.

daughter

daughter had been proposed by the princess Catharine to the duchess of Rohan, and accepted by my wife, without acquainting him with it; and likewise because monsieur and madam de Fervaques had so earnestly solicited his interest in favour of Laval, that he had promised them to give him to me for a son-in-law, rather than the duke of Rohan, who was not so rich indeed, but had the honour to be so nearly related to him, that, if he died without children, as the princess his sister had done, the duke of Rohan would succeed to his kingdom of Navarre, and the other estates of the families of Albert, Foix, and Armagnac: he then added, that, for other reasons which he would acquaint me with, he had again altered his opinion, and that it was his intention I should break with the family of Fervaques as decently as I could. Having already prepared them for this change of my resolution, he desired me to withdraw the contracts and articles which had been agreed upon between us, in such a manner, that the breaking off the match should appear entirely my own act, and that they might not have any room to say they had refused an alliance with me. He added, that he would himself bring the duke of Rohan to pay his compliments, with the duchess his mother, and expected that I would receive him as one who was to be my son-in-law within three days, having already settled every thing relating to the marriage himself; that he would have the contract drawn up in his presence, and would sign it as the kinsman of both parties.

I THANKED his majesty for the interest he took in my family, and the honour he conferred upon me. The affair was managed as he had directed; the king gave the bridegroom ten thousand crowns for the wedding cloaths and expences, and a like sum to my daughter. The year before, I had married mademoiselle Du-Maraix, my wife's daughter by her first husband, to La-Boulaye, the son of him whom Henry had loved so much: she had no reason to expect any other gratuity from his majesty, than that which is generally given to all the queen's maids of honour, under the title of a present for the nuptial robe, and had been settled at two thousand crowns: the king raised it to five thousand in favour of my daughter-in-law; but that it might not be made a precedent for others, he ordered me to carry it to account.

It was usual with his majesty, after he had cleared the accounts of his expences in fortifications and buildings, to say to me, in the presence of the officers employed in those works, who attended to know his pleasure concerning farther improvements in them, "Well, you

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“ see my fortifications and buildings are resolved upon, what have you done to your houses?” To which, when I replied, as I seldom failed to do, that I could do nothing to them for want of money ; he would answer, “ Well, shew me your plans, that I may know what you would do if you had money.” And after examining them, and telling me what he thought it would be necessary to alter, he added, that he would give me twenty thousand livres to enable me to make those alterations he pointed out to me.

HOWEVER, I sometimes requested favours of him which he refused to grant, and I shall not have the vanity to conceal it : he would not give the post which had formerly been the baron de Lux’s to my brother, or to La-Curée, for either of whom I requested it ; telling me, that for Bethune, he designed a post in Brittany which would suit him better ; and that as for La-Curée, he did not think that employment compatible with the post of lieutenant of a company of light-horse, and the government of Chinon, which he already possessed. The truth was, he chose to give it to Ragny, who could do him greater service in the province. I asked two other favours of him in the same letter, the one for my nephew de Melun, and the other for La-Boulaye : he told me, that La-Boulaye had not yet, by his services, merited such an instance of his bounty, but he granted the other, which was, the abbey of Moreilles in Poitou, lately become vacant. I received another refusal from him, if it may be called so, in which my son-in-law the duke of Rohan was concerned : the occasion of it was this.

THE duke of Rohan was governor of Saint-John d’Angely, of which place Des Ageaux was the king’s lieutenant : it was not the governor, to whom in justice it belonged, that named this lieutenant, but his majesty, who thought it necessary, for the good of his service, to deprive the governor of this privilege, that the lieutenant, who, in troublesome times, had hitherto always played an important part in affairs, might in some degree be independent of the governor, and in a condition to render his power ineffectual, if he should not use it to the king’s satisfaction, and for the advantage of the state. The lieutenant therefore was, in reality, possessed of the whole authority, and the governor had only an empty title. The duke of Rohan, who earnestly wished to have this prerogative restored to the governor, entreated me to solicit the king for that purpose, a favourable opportunity offering itself by the sickness of Des Ageaux, who, it was thought, would never recover. What-
ever

ever inclination I had to do my son-in-law this service, I durst not make the proposal to the king directly, the request having too much conformity with that state of dependence into which my enemies had insinuated I fought to place all the * protestant cities: nothing more would have been wanting to renew all his suspicions. I resolved therefore to sound him first upon the subject, which I did very artfully, taking occasion, upon the news of Des Ageaux's sickness, to ask his majesty whom he had thought of to supply his place if he died: it was by letters that I made this attempt; but I would go no further till I had received his majesty's answer. The king, in his answer, told me, that he did not intend to renounce his right of naming the lieutenant of Saint-John, because it would not always be the duke of Rohan, nor my son-in-law, who would be governor of that place. I mentioned Poussou, the mayor of that city, to him, whom he continued in that office upon the character I gave of him. Des Ageaux recovering of his sickness, no farther steps were taken in the affair.

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BEFORE I quit this article of marriage, I shall take notice of what happened at court, with regard to mademoiselle de Melun my niece, whom they thought likewise of marrying at that time, as her fortune was extremely large, the marchioness de Roubaix my aunt having made her her sole heir. The family of D'Estrées cast their eyes on her for a wife to De Cœuvres †; they thought themselves sure of the king's interest; and the affair was proposed to him by M. de Vendome himself, to whom the king promised that he would speak to me of it before he left Chantilly. He recollected the affair when he was at Louvre-en-Parisis, where they went to dine, and wrote to me concerning it in terms which shewed how earnestly he desired the marriage might be concluded.

I WROTE to the young lady's relations, who were all Flemmings; but the answer they gave me being such as I neither ought nor could repeat to my sovereign, I sent him none at all; and when at his return he asked me the reason, I only told him, that mademoiselle de

* It is said in the Hist. de la mere & du fils, vol. I. p. 15, that Henry IV. refused the duke of Sully the government of Saint-Maixant, which the queen herself, at the duke's request, desired of the king for him, saying, Prudence would not permit the making a Calvinist master of that place, small as it was. If any thing could make

one doubt of the truth of this fact, besides M. de Sully's silence in relation to it, the facility with which that prince granted him the government of the whole province must be sufficient.

† Francis-Hannibal D'Estrées, marquis of Cœuvres, duke and peer and marechal of France.

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Melun's relations did not approve of the proposed alliance. The king supposing that it was myself who answered for them, and that I had not wrote to them about the affair, I was obliged to shew him the letters I had received from the marchioness de Roubaix, the prince and princess de Ligne, the princess d'Epinoy, the countess de Barlemont, and the counts de Fontenay, and de Buquoy, who had all written to me upon the same subject. Henry, in these letters, finding, what I would not tell him, that notwithstanding the honours he had conferred on the house of D'Estrées, they thought it beneath their alliance *, " I see," said this prince with some resentment, " that since we have " to do with all these proud Flemish fools, we must think no more of " it." Accordingly the affair went no farther, his majesty being resolved not to meddle in it any more.

* The house of D'Estrées is undoubtedly one of the most ancient noble families of Picardy. Consult our genealogists.

M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXI.

THE uneasiness I suffered from the king's relapse into doubts and suspicions of my conduct encroached upon part of that time I used to devote entirely to the administration of the finances; but it never lessened my attention to the duties of my several employments. I laboured this year to prove the alienations and usurpations that had been made upon the crown lands, and to clear exactly all the pensions upon the tailles, gabelles, decimes, aides, and other parts of the revenue; as well as all the debts contracted either by the king, or by the cities, counties, and communities. Upon calculating these sums, I found that the alienations, pensions, and debts, from the time they were first settled and contracted to the present year, had cost the kingdom above an hundred and fifty millions *. 1605.

* “ Nothing less than the insurmountable courage of the duke of Sully was sufficient to retrieve the disorders in the revenue, by disincumbering the mortgaged crown lands from a charge of an hundred millions, by paying off some, and lessening others of the debts of the

“ crown, &c. He always seconded the “ king in the glorious designs of easing his “ people.” Political Essay on Commerce, ch. 19. M. Claudius de L’Isle speaks of him in the same manner, and with the greatest encomiums, in the Abridgment of his Universal History, vol. V. p. 501.

1605. It is still more extraordinary, that all the money arising from those taxes with which the state was overburdened, and in appearance no advantages gained by them, had for the most part been either usurped by those persons who were at first employed in the verification of them, or divided, sold, and alienated by them to others. The king would not believe this; but I made it plain, by means of two papers which fell into my hands; the first was, a list of those persons who had been concerned in the farm of the salt, during the lease of Champigny and Noël de Here: the number amounted to twenty, from Paris, the court, and even the council, and each had from fifty thousand livres to one hundred and fifty thousand crowns a-piece, the whole amounting to nine millions seven hundred thirty-eight thousand livres: the other paper, dated October 27, 1585, is an agreement between the superintendant D'O and those who farmed the salt, for a fifth part: D'O prevailed upon Antony Faschon, a notary, to be security for that whole sum to the farmers before mentioned.

By the same practices his majesty was defrauded of almost all the revenue arising from the aids and *parties casuelles*. Gondy had prevailed with Incarville, and the other members of the council with whom he shared, to have that money assigned to him, for the payment of some debts which he pretended were due to him from the king. Difficult as it was to find out these frauds and connivances, I made such strict enquiries, that I discovered three millions that were to come to the treasury. As it was merely with a view to relieve the people, that I thus from time to time stripped the usurpers of money that did not belong to them, in proportion to my discoveries, I made very considerable abatements in the king's name upon the *taille*, that perpetual source of abuses and vexations of all kinds, as well in the assessment as collection: it is greatly to be wished, though hardly to be hoped for, that one day or other the fund of this part of the king's revenue may be wholly changed*.

* These abuses and vexations are so flagrant and apparent, that our kings and their ministers have frequently attempted to find some remedy for them, by entirely changing the form of this branch of the revenue of France; but the difficulties the author speaks of have always intervened, and rendered their endeavours fruitless. However, one attempt has been made in

our days, which seemed to promise a more happy success, though hitherto its progress has not been very rapid: I will take the liberty of explaining the nature of it here.

An unhappy prejudice prevails in this kingdom, and I believe in all monarchical governments, which we cannot be too solicitous to destroy; for the minds of the people being thereby kept in a perpetual

I PLACE the gabelle after the taille. I never thought any thing more capricious and tyrannical, than to oblige a private man to buy up more salt than he is willing or able to use, and then hinder him to sell the overplus. I once expressed my sentiments of this practice 1605.

state of distrust of every thing undertaken by their sovereign. From this diffidence alone great part of the same mischievous effects arise, which an absolute disobedience could produce. The prejudice I mean is, that the good of the people is never the motive of the actions of kings; but that, on the contrary, no changes are made in their situation, but such as tend to render them more miserable.

It is impossible but so considerable a change as is proposed to be made in the taille, must, from its own nature, be subject to great difficulties. Now I apprehend it will not be sufficient that these difficulties have been overcome in the minds of the few who have formed and perfected this scheme, but they must also be cleared up to those whom it is necessary to employ in the execution of it; for the manner of executing a work of this nature is in no degree analogous to that in which a building may be erected: the latter being effected by the mere mechanical co-operation of the hands of the workmen with the design of the architect; whereas to carry on and complete the former, it is absolutely necessary that the nature of it should be as clearly conceived by those who are to put it in execution, as by those who formed the plan. But two things stand in opposition to this, which it will become necessary to remove, the one by the means of information, the other by punishment; these are, the want of knowledge, and the want of diligence in the subaltern officers; the latter making them disobey the orders of their superiors, and the former, though their intention be ever so good, occasioning them to execute every thing wrong.

This reason alone would be sufficient to prove, that what relates to the general receipt of the taille proportionelle, ought not to be entrusted to the assessors and other

officers of the intendants of the finances; I dare not say, to the intendants themselves, and those acting in immediate subordination to them, who are generally taken by them at random, out of the offices of the police, or the revenue; and who having other business of their own, cannot spare the time necessary for the other: but as artificers are sent for from the metropolis, when any work is to be performed exceeding the capacity of common workmen; so the council ought to chuse and appoint, for the management of the general receipts, commissioners of integrity and capacity, sufficiently authorized, and perfectly instructed in the nature of their business, and who should be allowed all the time and expences that are requisite. If they are too much hurried, part of the remarks necessary for them to make on the different particulars of the business of the provinces will escape their observation; and if their salaries are ill paid, or not to be received by them without difficulties, necessity may induce them to betray their trust. This important work certainly demands all possible attention.

When one considers how powerful an influence the bonds of parentage, friendship, society, or even mere neighbourhood, have on mankind; how strongly they are affected by different interests, as well personal as social; the fear of displeasing, the desire of obliging, the ambition of being honoured and caressed by their countrymen, the dependance on a superior, who, according to his caprice, can make his dependant sensible of his superiority, by depriving him of his office, or by unjust reprimands; and the innumerable other motives which tie up a man's hands in the midst of his family and countrymen; a thousand reasons will appear against employing the ordinary officers in the business of the new taille. This assertion is confirmed by the testimony of

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freely to the king, who desired me to give him a circumstantial memoir upon it; as for example, the prime cost of the salt at the salt-pits, of the expences till it was sold, of its distribution into granaries, and other questions relating to it: his majesty did not tell me what use he intended to make of this memoir. I drew it up with the utmost expedition, and as near the truth as I was able; for, on account of the reasons I there gave, it was hardly possible to fix the true value of things. However, this memorial produced no consequences, every thing remained in the same state as before; which shews how difficult it is to reform abuses, which the ignorance, precipitancy, and short-sightedness of those antients who are proposed to us as infallible guides, have introduced into the first regulations, even when other imposts, far more reasonable, such as the tithes and entries, seem both to point out the way, and make it easy*.

several persons, who having with great application considered what were the designs of the council, in constituting this kind of operation, and afterwards kept a watchful eye on the manner in which it daily appears to be executed by the officers in their several districts, have with great concern found, that, out of fifty of these officers, there is perhaps not one whose manner of executing his business does not render the new method more odious than the old.

These motives and these difficulties, a perfect knowledge of M. de Vauban's plan, the small difficulty there was in establishing it when trial was made of it, the happiness those few parishes still continue to enjoy which have found the means of preserving it amongst them, the experience every day furnishes that the dixieme (which in its own nature is but a species of the dixme) has every possible advantage over the taille and other impositions; all these, I say, must convince every judicious man, that it will be found absolutely necessary to recur to the establishment of the royal dixme, as being of all methods the most simple, the least expensive, and the least burdensome to the people; and that when it was proposed by this able and virtuous patriot, it was not received with all the regard it merited. The maxim, that enabling the people to live at their ease will endanger their revolting, is as false as it is cruel. It

most certainly is also the interest of the people, if well understood, that the king should be perfectly acquainted with the true value of what they possess, and consequently the real strength of his kingdom; that, without regard to exemptions or any unjust privileges, all his majesty's subjects should be equally taxed; and that commerce and industry should meet with all possible encouragement. As to any further reflections which may be made on this matter, we will refer to that excellent work itself, composed by M. Vauban, and intitled, *Dixme Royale*, &c.

* It is well known what is the net produce to the king of the gabelle, or salt duty, after all expences paid; and it is not, consequently, difficult to discover, to what those expences amount on each minot of salt. Why should not the king at once take the price of each minot of salt on the first sale, and at the salt pits themselves? Why should not the same be done in the case of the aids? This question, simple as it is, has been asked long ago. The cardinal of Richelieu, in this respect, following the opinion of his predecessor in the ministry, *Test. Politique*, part II. ch. ix. § 7. *Perefixe*, the author of the *Essay on Commerce*, ch. v. and many other able politicians after him, unanimously pronounce sentence against an impost like this, not only burdensome from the manner in which it is

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THE debts contracted by the provinces, town-houses, and corporations, were not less troublesome to the king than his own : I was continually soliciting him to call on me to review and settle them, in the same manner as I had done the others ; I prevailed at last, and his majesty left me the choice of what measures I thought most likely to attain this end. The commissioners I named for this purpose were selected from among those persons, whom I knew to be most faithful, and capable of the greatest application to business, in the sovereign courts, among the masters of requests, the treasurers of France, and other officers ; but as this work could not go on so expeditiously as the former, I shall defer giving an account of it till I come to relate the effects it produced. 1605.

AND here a reflection occurs to me, not more common than just, which is, that regularity and œconomy must certainly have infinite resources ; for notwithstanding the ordinary expences of the state, and the extraordinary ones his majesty was at in his kingdom ; notwithstanding that three or four millions were sent every year out of the kingdom to be distributed in foreign countries ; notwithstanding the ruinous and exhausted condition in which the king at his accession to the throne, found France, his finances, and his treasury, and many more difficulties almost insurmountable ; yet the government had already an appearance of opulence and strength, which banished all remembrance of its former indigence. Could it be possible for any person to imagine ten years before, that in 1605. the king would find himself as rich as he really was ; if they reflected, that the sums which were demanded of him when he was acknowledged peaceable possessor of the crown, and those that were owing from his exchequer, with all the interest and arrears, did not amount to less than three hundred and thirty millions ; and that all which could be paid of this enormous sum, such as the mere debts, should really be done ; and such measures taken with regard to the pensions and assignments, that they should be regu-

levied, but becoming still more unjust, from the unequal manner in which it is assessed. It is true, they perceive great difficulties in altering it ; but this alteration being once made, one of the principal sources of the ease, and at the same time of the opulence, of the nation, would be opened thereby. The cardinal de Richlieu, who

thus speaks of it, adds, that he had found, from the most knowing amongst the superintendants of the finances, that the produce of the duty on salt, if levied at the pits, would be equal to what the king of Spain receives from the Indies. See also on this subject the *Dixime Royale* of M. de Vau-

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larly paid, without exhausting the treasury, or incurring the least inconvenience? Yet all this was actually effected. And probably the reader has not yet found any thing in these Memoirs so interesting as the following account in gross, of the particular sums which made up the whole.

THERE was due to queen Elizabeth at the time of her demise, for ready money lent to Henry in his necessities, advanced by her to the German troops and the army sent into Bretany, as well as for all the other sums, to which the maintenance of those supplies that Henry was furnished with by the English, amounted; consisting of men, vessels, and provisions, for the siege of Dieppe, and that of Rouen, and during the war with the league; the sum of seven millions three hundred and seventy-eight thousand and eight hundred livres: To the Swiss Cantons, for their services and their pensions, comprehending the interest due upon them; thirty-five millions eight hundred twenty-three thousand four hundred and seventy-seven livres and six sols: To the States-General, for money lent for pay, due to their troops, and for the furnishing vessels, powder, provision, ammunition, &c. during the league likewise; nine millions two hundred seventy-five thousand four hundred livres: To several French noblemen, colonels, and other officers, for service, pay, pensions, salaries, &c. during the civil wars; six millions five hundred and forty-seven thousand livres: To the farmers of every part of the revenue; to princes, cities, corporations, and private persons; comprehending the salaries, appointments, and pensions of the officers of the king's household, of the police, and the finances, and the civil magistrates, by settled accounts, twenty-eight millions four hundred and fifty thousand three hundred and sixty livres: To several private persons, according to their bills, rescriptions, receipts of the treasury, warrants, acquittals, patents, &c. almost all in the reign of Henry III. twelve millions two hundred and thirty-six thousand livres: Mortgages of the crown lands, compositions of pensions, where the principal being exorbitant was moderated by the creditors themselves, or deducted by his majesty; one hundred and fifty millions: Treaties made at the abolition of the league, which have been calculated already, thirty-three millions one hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred and twenty-four livres*.

* There is a miscomputation of about a million, in the Old Memoirs, as well in the account of the contracts of the league, as in the sum total; but this is of small moment.

It is certain, as I have already observed, that upon the examination of these different demands upon the exchequer, many that were found to be unjust were totally annulled; others were compounded for with the creditors, and others were got clear of by several expedients, such as those upon the taxes, and the crown lands; but it may be easily imagined, that there remained a very considerable number of debts to be discharged: and here I must anticipate my story, for the sake of observing that good examples are not always efficacious. After Henry's death, those that were placed at the head of affairs, began their administration by destroying part of that economy, and abolishing many of those regulations, which he had established: this conduct, while it wore an appearance, and only an appearance of lenity and compassion, gave me reason to apprehend, that under the new reign, the national debt would be increased rather than lessened. But to quit this subject for the present, I shall content myself with barely mentioning here, as an eternal monument of Henry's glory, the flourishing condition into which the wisdom of his government had already brought France; both foreign and domestic payments were regularly made, and no hardship was sustained by any of his subjects, either from those payments, or the expences of the current year, though the king still continued to lay out very large sums in rebuilding, furnishing, and adorning his palaces; repairing the old fortifications, and raising new ones; erecting public buildings*; re-edifying churches, hospitals, and convents; in funds for repairing pavements, moles, and bridges; in building a great number of gallies upon the Mediterranean;

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* Henry the Great caused the chapel of Fontainebleau to be painted and gilt, cut avenues through the forest, and in many other respects decorated this royal palace: he finished the Pontneuf, built the square and street Dauphin, repaired many streets in Paris, built wharfs, &c. Besides what is said in these Memoirs, see the detail of all those buildings, in the *Mercure François*, anno 1610, p. 404, *Le Grain's Decade*, b. viii. Morizot. chap. 46, and others who have written descriptions, or the history, of the antiquities of Paris, &c. No one is ignorant that this great prince, through the representations of the duke of Sully, repaired the highways in almost every quarter of the kingdom; built many causeways and bridges in places before impassable, especially in Berry, which might vie, in point

of beauty, with the works of the Romans; but which, for want of being kept in order for a hundred and thirty years past, are at present in a very indifferent state: that, by his order, elms and other trees were planted along the sides of these roads, some of which are still growing in different places, where they are called *Rosny's*: there are many ordinances made by this king on this subject, and some others, by which the converting arable land into pasture is forbidden, and vineyards are ordered to be stubbed up. These buildings and works, and this application to render his kingdom flourishing, contributed, perhaps as much as his military exploits, to procure Henry IV. the title of Great, which was conferred on him in his lifetime, and, as it appears, about the year 1602.

1605. in filling his magazines and arsenals; redeeming the jewels of the crown, and purchasing more; and after all this, there still remained, at the end of the year, a considerable sum to deposit in the Bastile*.

BUT what is still more valuable than all these treasures, Henry acquired them not only without increasing the people's poverty, but even lightened the weight of their former burthen, as has been shewn in these Memoirs. He always regretted that the present situation of affairs would not permit him to carry this tenderness for his subjects farther; if the enemies of his government will not confess this truth, if in their writings they have asserted the contrary, yet it is absolutely certain, that plenty and affluence began now to be perceived over the whole kingdom; the nobility and soldiery were delivered from their tyrants in the revenue; the peasant sowed and reaped in full security†; the artist enriched himself by his profession; the meanest tradesman rejoiced in his profits; and the nobleman himself improved his estates. Some examples of severity, which his majesty had been obliged to make, were so far from disturbing the tranquility of the kingdom, that it was never more fully established, nor never more sincerely enjoyed; the licentiousness which had been corrected in the army, procured the people a real advantage, without doing any prejudice to the officer and soldier, who were paid with the utmost exactness, rewarded in proportion to their services, and esteemed, honoured, and caressed, as their merits and valour deserved. The medals which I presented as usual to his majesty, had a lilly shooting out a bud on each side, pointing to two stars which represented the polar stars, with these words, *Hi fines*. It is by actions like these, that a king may aspire to the glory of having accomplished this motto.

I SHALL not repeat here what I have said before, concerning the letters I received from Henry; I had so many this year, and on all sorts of subjects, the finances, trade, policy, that I shall not attempt to produce

* The share the duke of Sully had in all these things, gave him a just claim to the following singular elogium in the *Mercure François*, anno 1606, p. 101. "As he executed these offices and employments in a manner more for the benefit and emolument of the crown of France than any of his predecessors; all true Frenchmen readily acknowledged his merit in this respect, as well in the lifetime of his majesty, as since his death: and

"though he could not escape the calumny of those who envied him, it must nevertheless be allowed, that he was the Joseph both of our king and of France."

† The affection this good prince bore to his people, appears from this saying of his, which has been preserved as a kind of tradition, That he would make the poorest peasant in his dominions able to eat flesh all the week long, and to put a fowl in his pot besides on Sundays.

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them : several of them contained orders for presents to different persons ; thirty thousand livres to the queen for her new-year's gift ; nine thousand livres to the countess of Moret * ; fifteen hundred livres to the queen's bed-chamber women ; and a like sum to be distributed by madame de Montglat, among the nurses of the king's children upon different occasions ; four thousand to the family of the commandeur de Chastes ; twelve hundred livres to Praslin ; a like sum to Merens ; three thousand livres to the count de Saint-Aignan, to indemnify him for the money he had expended on his father-in-law Montigny's company ; two thousand four hundred livres to several pensioners in Burgundy, paid them by Hector Le-Breton his commissioner in that province ; a pension of four thousand livres, to † Lognac, a protestant captain, in reward for his services ; forty thousand livres, which his majesty thought a just restitution to Villars, saying, that this family had lost above six thousand livres of interest, since this sum became due to them ; five hundred livres to the duke of Ventadour, who had advanced them for small expences, to shew, said Henry, that no one loses any thing by serving me ; the sieur de Canisy received a like reimbursement ; seventeen thousand one hundred and thirty eight livres to La-Livre his apothecary : his majesty had been indebted to this man, ever since the year 1592, and was partly the cause of his ruin ; for his creditors arrested him, and threw him into prison, but the king indemnified him for all ; nine thousand five hundred and forty-one livres to John Sellier, a merchant of the city of Troyes, who made his demand upon his majesty for a certain public building.

In this summary of expences, I do not include the hundred and fifty thousand livres given to the count of Soissons, of the edict of Greffes,

* Jacqueline Du-Beuil. The king, towards the end of the preceding year, had created her countess of Moret, she having revived the passion of love in his heart, which had, in a manner died with his marchioness : he had also married her to a gentleman called Chanvalon. In L'Etoile's journal there are some anecdotes relating to this matter, but they are too licentious for us to repeat, anno 1604. Mademoiselle Du-Beuil or De Beuil, is represented in the writings of that time, as a lady who was not on an equal footing with mademoiselle d'Entragues in point of beauty, but in recompence for this defect, her look expressed wit and penetration, her temper was extremely gay, and her conversation full of

sprightliness, which qualifications Henry IV. greatly admired. The queen did not appear to take the same umbrage at this lady, or to have that aversion to her, as she shewed against the marchioness de Verneuil.

† This is not the person whom Henry III. employed to stab the duke of Guise, at the holding of the states at Blois. Having requested that prince to bestow a government on him as a recompence for the service he had done him, and his request being refused, he retired in discontent to Guienne, where very soon after he was pistolled by a gentleman in his neighbourhood, with whom he had a quarrel. Cayer's chronol. novenn. vol. I. b. i. pag. 133.

and

1605. and of another edict, creating a small tax upon salt in favour of the duke of Maïenne, nor of many other gratuities and just payments ; Zamet obtained of his majesty, the two offices of receivers at Rouen for two thousand crowns each ; Henry caused the forest of L'Aigle to be divided by law, between him and the constable ; but to prevent any dispute, he purchased the other part, and settled himself the time for cutting down the trees ; he referred to his council, the offer that had been made him of twelve hundred thousand livres for the grant of an edict concerning the four deniers ; he sent Nargonne, with his company, to guard the tower of Bouc, which he thought a place of great importance : but the duke of Mercœur, to whom this fortress belonged, raised some difficulties, which determined his majesty to treat with him for it, either by way of exchange, or by purchasing it.

GREAT part of the letters I received from this prince, turned upon his buildings, those of his new silk manufactures * especially, which he still carried on with the same ardour ; his green-house in the Tuileries, was the place he set apart for breeding the silk worms, the eggs having been sent him from Spain, and he hastened the building of it for that purpose. I laid, by his order, the foundations of the new edifices for his tapestry weavers, in the horse-market, which, requiring a larger extent of ground than could be procured, without encroaching a little upon a garden belonging to Montmagny, who opposed it strongly, the king ordered that he should be paid the sum he demanded for his ground, representing to him, however, that when the public utility was in question, an individual ought, on such occasions, to wave the consideration of his own particular interest. His majesty sent for Comans and La Planche, from other countries, and gave them the care and superintendance of these manufactures : the new directors were not long before they made complaints, and disliked their situation, either because they did not find the profits equal to their hopes and expectations, or, that having advanced considerable sums themselves, they saw no great probability of getting them in again. The king got rid of their importunity by referring them to me, commanding me to act in such a manner by them that they should suffer no loss, but likewise that their gains should not be too considerable.

* It appears also from the writings of that time, that a manufacturer of Provence called Serran, attempted to make stuffs of the finest parts of the bark of mulberry-trees : that the making of glass, looking-

glass plates, and exact imitations of pearls, and many other manufactures, which the celebrated M. Colbert has since carried to so great perfection, were then set on foot.

THE attention of this prince in conciliating the good will of the neighbouring powers who might possibly engage in his great designs, appeared likewise in his letters, as well as in his whole conduct. Whether we consider his extreme solicitude to fulfil all the laws of civility, and all the forms of ceremony, the obliging manner in which he treated their ambassadors and envoys, the seasonable presents he made them, or what is a benefit still more considerable, the care he took to reconcile them amongst themselves, by determining their differences; and thus beginning, with respect to them, to exercise the office of the arbitrator of Europe. His majesty sent me a letter of compliment unsealed, which he thought himself obliged to write to the duches de Deux-Ponts, commanding me to send it to her by one of my gentlemen, and with it a present of twelve or fifteen hundred crowns, at least; a favour which that princess acknowledged with great gratitude and respect, in the letter she wrote to him in return. The duke of Bar having consulted Henry about his designed marriage with the princess of Mantua, which had been kept secret a long time, this prince took upon himself to give the duke of Mantua notice of it, and dispatched immediately a courier extraordinary to that court; though upon this article, he carried his economy so far, as to reproach his ambassador at Rome, for sending him couriers too frequently, and wrote to him to do so no more. The Venetian ambassador took leave of his majesty in November, and received from my hands a very considerable present: I likewise gave another to his secretary; nor did Guinterot the duke of Holstein's ambassador return less satisfied to his master; I shewed him the arsenal, and all the king's magazines; and that he might have a token to remember them by, I gave him, by his majesty's orders, one of his finest coats of arms to present to his master.

CLEMENT the eighth, died * on the third or fourth of March this year. The news of his death was brought to France by a courier,

* L'Etoile, who cannot be suspected of partiality when he speaks well of the Pope and the catholics, confirms whatever M. de Sully has said in different parts of these Memoirs in praise of Clement VIII. "A
" pacific Pope, says he, and a good
" Frenchman: even the protestants did
" not hate him, he having always treated
" them with great gentleness, beyond any
" of his predecessors, even so far as to

" grant them pass-ports to go and come
" freely to and from Rome, which was
" never done before by any Pope. When
" he died, and long before his death, he
" was nothing but a mass of corruption,
" having totally lost the use both of his
" limbs and understanding; even his hands
" being putrified and burst, insomuch that
" when any one came to kiss his feet,
" which stunk as much as the rest of his

whom

1605. whom my brother dispatched to the king then at Chantilly, and by letters from the French cardinals whom Henry had sent to Rome the year before, and who were followed by cardinal Du-Perron, the end of the same year.

THERE having always been a great intimacy between this cardinal and myself, we corresponded by letters regularly, during the whole time that he continued on the other side of the Alps: he gave me notice of his arrival at Rome, in a letter dated the 28th of December, 1604, and wrote me another the 6th of February following. If he is to be believed, I had gained the friendship of the whole roman consistory, who could not help praising my conduct towards the clergy, and in every thing that concerned the affairs of the church. In cardinal Buffalo particularly, ever since the treaty we had managed together, I had a zealous panegyrist at Rome; after his departure from Paris, I had written him a long letter, which he shewed to every body, as valuing himself upon the sentiments he knew I entertained of him: I shall not repeat here those praises, too flattering to my vanity, with which this letter of Du-Perron's was filled; those I have mentioned were introduced with no other design, but to shew (what I thank heaven for) that I was never tainted with that bitter and furious zeal, which the difference of religion inspires. The change of mine was the subject of frequent conversations between the cardinals and Du-Perron, who all wished for it with equal ardour; cardinal Aldobrandin, often declared that he never said mass without remembering me, the Pope expressed himself almost in the same terms to Du-Perron, when he was conducted to audience, by my brother: he had a long conversation with him concerning me, and particularly upon the means of working (what, in the language of Rome, was called) my conversion: it is indeed an extraordinary thing, that a minister cannot, from his own countrymen obtain the same justice, which foreigners, who surely have no less reason to hate him, are capable of rendering to the disinterestedness

"body, they were obliged to hold up his hands, to enable him to give the benediction." Journal of the reign of Henry IV.

Peter Matthieu speaks of him with the highest praise, vol. II. b. iii. p. 328, and book iii. p. 696, as all the rest of our best writers also do, who find no fault with him, but for his being a little too much attached to his family. It was said of him, Clement

VIII. was a good man, a good prelate, and a good prince; in opposition to his three predecessors, Pius V. Sixtus V. and Gregory XIII, the first of whom was said to be only a good prelate, the second only a good prince, and the third a good prelate and a good prince. Amelot de La Houffaye, note 3, on the 311th of Cardinal D'Ossat's letters.

of his conduct, and the rectitude of his intentions. Du-Perron concluded his letter with telling me, that he, no less earnestly than the other cardinals, wished to see me completely united to persons who esteemed and loved me so much, since I had not (these are his words) "more
 " friends at Geneva, than at Rome."

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My gratitude was equally engaged by the testimony he bore in favour of my brother, assuring me, that he had gained so strongly upon the affections of the Italians, that no Frenchman had, for an hundred years past, acquired an equal reputation in Italy *: he acknowledged himself highly obliged to my brother, for his politeness, in coming with an honourable train of the French and Roman nobility, to meet him, nine leagues from Rome.

THE king had, in an especial manner, recommended it to the French cardinals, to have strict attention to the interest of the nation, in the approaching election of a Pope †; and this injunction was again repeated to them, when he was informed by the arrival of another courier from Rome, on the 28th of March, that, according to all appearances, there would be high debates in the conclave, on account of the great number of candidates, each of whom was worthy indeed of the pontificate. However, these difficulties were so soon removed, that, on Friday the 1st of April, which was two days after the arrival of this courier, the holy see was filled by the cardinal de Médicis, otherwise called the cardinal of Florence, who took the name of Leo the eleventh. The choice falling upon a man related to the queen, and of the same name with her, was a certain testimony that his most christian majesty was well served by the Italian nation ‡.

THE king, when the news came to Paris, gave public demonstrations of his joy, which he was desirous should be as general as it was sincere. He wrote to me not to spare his ordnance, and to send orders to my government, and to every other part of the kingdom, to follow the example I should set them in Paris. Messieurs the bishop, and governor

* This commendation seems not at all extravagant. P. Matthieu, speaking of the services the count of Bethune did the king at Rome, calls him a man of great abilities for that court, vol. II. b. iii. p. 681. Siri every where speaks of him in the same manner.

† See the particulars of the two subsequent conclaves in Matthieu, *ibid.* 698, and other historians.

‡ "The making Leo XI. Pope," says Du-Plessis-Mornay, spitefully, "cost the king 300,000 crowns." *Life of M. Du-Plessis-Mornay*, b. ii. p. 305.

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of Paris, the president Bellièvre, and the king's counsellors of parliament, the other bishops, and all persons in a public character, received orders to have *Te Deum* sung, and fireworks played off, in every place under their jurisdiction. It may be truly said, that never had the advancement of any person to the papal dignity been celebrated with greater magnificence. However, this could not prolong a moment the duration of Leo XI's pontificate, who lived but a few days afterwards, and probably was dead at the very time when these honours were paying him in France*.

HIS majesty was in some degree comforted for the loss of this Pope, by the person whom the conclave chose for his successor; this was Paul V. formerly cardinal Borgeſe: two things concurred to his election, which made it highly agreeable to his majesty, the favour the French nation shewed him by her cardinals, and his own personal merit, which rendered him worthy of that distinction, and which they hoped to see rewarded by a happy pontificate. Two cardinals thus successively placed by his most Christian majesty on the papal throne, left Europe no room to doubt of the high esteem he was in with the Italians: the king was sensible of it himself, and the extreme satisfaction it gave him was sufficient seen by the orders he issued immediately after receiving the news of the new pontiff's advancement (which was on the 25th of May) to celebrate it with the same rejoycings as Leo the XI's had been, except only, that no fireworks were played off; the reason his majesty gave for this omission, to those who might possibly be offended at it, was, that this piece of respect had been paid to the cardinal of Florence as an ally of the royal family: as to the rest, all was performed with the same splendor, and the king himself was present at the *Te Deum*, which he ordered to be sung at Fontainebleau. I received on this occasion three letters from his majesty of the same date, which were merely ceremonial upon my different offices, and as a person in a public character; he likewise addressed to the chancellor, Sillery, and to me, a discourse, in which he gave a relation in form of what had just passed in the conclave.

PAUL V. did not disappoint the hopes that were conceived of his pontificate: the Roman council seemed to pursue exactly the same

* He was taken ill on the 17th of April, on his return from the procession to S. John de Lateran, which is made on the new

Pope's taking possession of his dignity, and died the 27th.

measures they had done under Clement VIII. Nothing was prescribed to Barberini, who was sent into France in the quality of nuncio, beyond what had been done to cardinal Buffalo; and he was ordered by cardinal Aldobrandini, and by his holiness likewise, to address himself only to me, in whatever affair he had to solicit. I know not what cardinal Buffalo (from whom this advice certainly came) could have said to my advantage, in preference to so many other persons, who carried, even to servility, their respect and attachment to the holy see. My brother, in a letter he wrote to me at that time, told me, I could not too highly acknowledge the obligations I was under to this cardinal, or repay with too much warmth of friendship, the regard and esteem he expressed for me.

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THIS letter of Bethune's is dated November 12th; for he was still at Rome, although he had depended upon returning to France immediately after the Pope's installation; but some new orders which he had received detained him, and he did not return till several days after the date of this letter. His holiness so much regretted his being recalled, that he would have wrote to the king, to entreat he would continue him his ambassador at Rome, if my brother had not prevented him. He had entirely got rid of that appearance of timidity, reserve, and perhaps coolness, which he had shewn at the beginning of his negotiation; and as soon as he was accustomed to the business transacted at the Roman court, had changed it into a wise and prudent confidence, from whence he drew all the success he could hope for, in those affairs which were intrusted to him. The Pope continued to pay him the highest honours, and gave orders, that he should be received, and treated with the most distinguishing marks of respect, in all the cities of his dominions through which he passed. All this I advance with so much the more freedom and security, although upon the faith of cardinal Du-Perron my friend, who thought himself obliged to write to me upon my brother's departure, as this cardinal gave the same account to the king, and represented to him that no one was better qualified than Bethune, for a place in the council for foreign affairs, in what regarded Italy; as he had a full and perfect knowledge of all which related to that country*.

* Cardinal D'Ossat himself, though, according to all appearances, far from being satisfied with M. de Sully's behaviour in regard to him, speaks in the most ad-
vantageous terms of that ambassador, in his letter to the king, of the 10th December, 1601. in that to M. de Villeroy, of the 2d December, 1602. and some others.

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IN this letter Du-Perron thanked me, for having supported him with his majesty, against those who had endeavoured to frustrate his expectations of the post of great almoner, which had lately been promised to him; as also for some trifling services his brother had received from me: he added an article relating to La-Fin. This man, who has been mentioned in marechal Biron's process, had, by an effect of his natural levity of temper, left France, and embraced the protestant religion. The king, who observed him, as he did all who had once given room for suspicion, caused him to be stopped in Italy, and imprisoned in the tower of Nonnè. La-Fin applied to cardinal Du-Perron, who had formerly been his friend, to procure him the favour of being carried into France and tried there, if it appeared that there was any just grounds for complaint against him, or if not, that he should be set at liberty; and Du-Perron intreated my interest with the king, in favour of La-Fin's request.

THE letter which, of all that I received from the other side of the Alps, deserves most notice, is that the Pope took the trouble to write to me, and of which, being very long, I shall only give the substance here. As in appearance the Pope wrote to me on the subject of my brother, he began with praising, in the highest terms, his conduct, his piety, and his behaviour, full of respect and deference for all the cardinals, and himself, before he was advanced to the pontificate. From this his holiness passed to the regret he felt, that the obstacles I raised to my conversion, hindered him from resigning himself as openly as he would otherwise have done to the friendship he had for me. His piety and his zeal furnished him with a thousand motives to persuade me to change my religion; he assured me, that if he was not withheld by the station he filled, he would, without hesitation, come into France, and labour himself to convert me: he proposed to my imitation the examples of the antient counts of Flanders, my ancestors, particularly that of Saint-Alpin de Bethune, for whom he had been told I had a great veneration: to these he added the examples of the first saints, and most illustrious kings of France; which naturally introduced the eulogium of the present king, and afterwards that of Clement VIII. on account of the services I had rendered this Pope, for which he thanked me with great warmth of affection, as well as for all the good offices which the apostolical legates and nuncios of his predecessors and his own had received from me. This brief, which

was every where filled with pathetic exhortations to change my religion, concluded with the most ardent prayers for that event.

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I ANSWERED this obliging letter with all the respect and deference it deserved, without saying any thing upon the article of my change of religion : I was satisfied with praising the virtues and great qualities of his holiness, with assuring him of my profound respect for his person, my readiness to serve him, and ardent desire to be useful to him : my whole letter was filled with the most grateful acknowledgements for the sentiments he professed for me, and the most earnest wishes for his prosperity ; and, without affecting my religion, I forgot no instance of respect due to the character of a sovereign prince, and to that in particular which a whole church gives to the Pope ; and therefore did not scruple to make use of the expression of kissing his feet ; which doubtless would have displeased my brethren the protestants. Paul V. upon his receiving this letter, said publicly, that it gave him more pleasure than any thing which had happened during his pontificate : he read it twice over successively, saying each time, that I had done him too much honour : he lavished many encomiums upon the style and turn of expression, and said, that my praises of him had robbed him of some of those he had designed to give me. He was eager to thank me by a second brief, if Du-Perron himself had not opposed an excess of kindness which might have produced some inconvenience to me. This cardinal was witness of the Pope's exclamations in favour of me ; for my letter being written in French, he was sent for by his holiness to interpret it. Du-Perron still continued to reside in Rome, which drew him into very considerable expences ; he observed to me, that, in the space of one year only, he had laid out above twenty thousand crowns, in the expences of his journies, his entry, the conclave, furniture, and habits for himself and his household ; all which had reduced him to such necessity, that he intreated me to oblige the farmers of his abbey of Lire to pay him, they having refused to make their usual remittances, under pretence of an arret of council relating to the claims he had upon certain woods.

ALL the rest of Italy began to entertain the same favourable dispositions for France as the holy see, except the duke of Savoy, who was still influenced by the Spanish policy, as may be conceived by the new intrigues, carried on this year for the duke's interest, by a man named Chevalier. With regard to Spain, France still continued upon its former

1605. former footing with her; they were at peace indeed, but that peace clouded with disgusts, and embittered by reciprocal complaints.

THE negotiations which had commenced between the Spanish court and the states of the United Provinces not succeeding, hostilities were renewed as soon as the season permitted them to take the field. The king of Spain sent to the Swiss Cantons, to demand a passage through their territories for the troops he sent into Flanders, that they might avoid taking their rout by Pont de Gréfin, which would have greatly retarded their march. To obtain the grant of this request, he told them, that his troops should pass through their states by twenty at a time, and that their number should not exceed two thousand. He added, however, another thousand afterwards. The king, when he received this advice from Caumartin, believing that Spinola, who was to command their troops, would take the same rout, thought it would not be impossible for prince Maurice, at the head of a party of French scouts, to seize upon this general's person, "which, said Henry, will be worth "one victory." He wrote to me to communicate this hint to Aërsens, and through him to the prince of Orange; but I was informed, almost immediately afterwards, by a Spanish courier, who passed through Paris in his way to Flanders, that Spinola had altered his rout, and would arrive in Paris in three or four days: which produced such a change of measures, that his majesty thought himself obliged to render his passage as secure to him as if he had passed through the French territories. Spinola requesting the honour of an audience of his majesty, this prince believed that he had orders to make him some new proposals. This, however was an inference not made by me; and when Henry mentioned it to me, I replied, that Spinola, thinking the road through Paris the shortest as well as the securest, he conceived it his duty at the same time to pay his respects to his majesty; and that I was persuaded he would talk to him only of general things, though perhaps he wished to have it otherwise believed in Flanders: accordingly it fell out just as I had imagined.

Charles de Longueval, count of Buquay.

SPINOLA divided his army into two bodies; he gave the command of one to count de Buquay, with orders to pass the Rhine with it between Cologne and Bonne, where he afterwards threw up intrenchments to hinder other troops from attempting this pass. Whatever was the design of the Spaniards by this work, it ought to have roused the German princes from their lethargy. The other body Spinola led towards Friesland, where the allied army followed him a long time. The report

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report which was spread in July of this general's death, was no better founded than that of his being beaten, which prevailed some time afterwards. It was foreseen that he had a design upon Linghen, altho' this was a very strong place; and accordingly he marched thither and invested it. By means of a mole which was cut by prince Maurice, Spinola was himself besieged in his quarters, and his trenches laid under water; so that it was believed he would be obliged to abandon his enterprize; in which case it might be expected, that the prince would besiege and carry the fort Patience. Yet, notwithstanding this, Linghen surrendered in September, which was all that was done this campaign. Spinola was, on the 24th of September, still before the place he had taken, and had carried his views no farther than to put himself out of a condition to be attacked. The troops of both parties were greatly diminished; prince Maurice, on his side, threw supplies into Covoerden and Breton, which covered and secured Friesland. Du-Terrail, in the mean time, at the head of some supplies sent him by Spinola, attacked and surprised Bergen-op-zoom, but he was repulsed with some loss.

THIS man was a French officer, and one of the seditious cabal; he thought proper to retire to Antwerp, and offered his service to the arch-dukes. His majesty was not so much offended with this procedure, although he had promised him, in a letter he wrote expressly for that purpose, that he would do nothing contrary to his duty, as he was for his having corrupted Dunnes, the younger Nangis, and Chef-boutonne, who it was reported were preparing to go thither with a whole company. A footman belonging to Du-Terrail was arrested in Auvergne, whither he had brought some packets, but all of little consequence. He endeavoured to prevail upon his wife to come to him in Antwerp, by highly extolling the friendship and civility he received there. The same example had been set by Saint-Denis-Mailloc, and some other gentlemen, who had offered their service to the arch-dukes; in which they certainly neither acted like good politicians, nor dutiful subjects.

THIS was but one of the least causes of complaint which Henry had against Spain. The support which that crown gave to the French mutineers; the part she had in their meetings at Limosin and Perigord; the enterprizes which, in concert with them, she meditated upon the towns and coasts of Provence; were grievances of a higher nature: and, all well weighed together, his majesty was of opinion, that he ought to spare himself the trouble of making them useless reproaches, or of doing himself justice by such means as would have given the Spaniards
reason

1605. reason to reproach him in their turn : he was even more solicitous about the strict observation of the last agreements he had made with them on trade, than, after such a conduct, they could have expected. Captain Yvon Baudelonis brought a Spanish vessel into Rochelle, which the commander alledged was Dutch, and belonged to the prince of Orange : the Rochellers thought it their duty to acquaint the king with it, who, in his answer, praised their conduct, quoted to them the article of the treaty on that subject, which was in express words, and caused the same satisfaction to be given to Spain which her ambassadors could have demanded.

THE council of Madrid, struggling between their natural haughtiness on one side, and a consciousness of their own weakness and the need they had of our assistance on the other, knew not in what manner to behave to us : the same spirit actuated them in all their proceedings, and made them, at one time, endeavour to disunite us from the States ; at another, complain vehemently, that under pacific appearance, with respect to them, we acted as their real enemies. They afterwards affected a strict correspondence with England : but none of their artifices succeeded. The king, secure in the secret knowledge of his own strength, despised their threats ; and myself in particular was too well acquainted with the disposition of the king of England, to believe that he would ever do more for them than he could be prevailed upon to do for us.

THEY were, besides, upon such ill terms with his Britannic majesty, that it was not possible for them long to save these appearances ; for as they never staid a considerable time in any country, without giving proofs of that spirit of cabal which they exercised throughout all Europe, James had notice of some of their secret practices in his dominions, which inflamed him with rage against them. Indeed there needed no less than such a discovery to recal this prince to his first engagements with me, which had suffered some injury during the following years, by that fatal prejudice in favour of pacific measures which I have already mentioned, or rather by a real timidity. Beaumont, whose embassy was at its close, was surprised to find James resume this subject himself, and talk to him in terms very different from those he commonly made use of. He gave him letters for Henry and for me, and likewise a verbal charge, that when he rendered an account of his negotiation to the king of France, he should insist particularly upon that article which regarded the succession to the Empire, which was what he dwelt upon
most

most in his letter to Henry : he exhorted him to join from that moment with him in endeavours to restore to the electors, before the death of the present Emperor, the freedom of election, with all their other rights; and effectually to exclude the son, brother, or most distant kinsman of his Imperial majesty, from a possibility of gaining the empire, by preventing any one of them from being named king of the Romans. And, lastly, to have it decreed, that the person, whoever he might be, that was to succeed the Emperor, should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Bohemia.

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BEAUMONT, when at his return to Paris he executed the commission given him by his Britannic majesty, told the king that he had a letter from this prince for me, which, as I was then at Châtelleraut, his majesty opened. He was desirous of trying if this new policy would find any favourers at Court; and for that purpose he communicated this scheme of king James with regard to the Empire to two or three of his ministers, but with some reserve, and by way of consulting them upon it, taking care not to give them any hint of his great designs. On this occasion Henry found no flatterers: there was not one of them who did not give a proof that he was capable of opposing a scheme which appeared to him unreasonable and unjust. Henry stopped there, and waited for my return, to examine it more closely with me. But as this conversation turned upon many particulars, which appeared of such consequence to his majesty, that he made me swear not to discover it to any person whatever, that oath obliges me now to silence*.

* I do not know whether the uncertainty wherein this prince for some time remained, was not at least a part of this secret: whether he ought not to get himself declared Emperor: he even thought it necessary to submit this design to the examination of his three ministers, whom he called together to give their opinions on it; as appears from the 8474th vol. of the MSS. in the king's library, where their deliberations on this matter are related at large. It is remarkable, that those three, scarcely in any one instance, happened to be of the same sentiments: in the present case, one advised him to get himself elected Emperor; the second dissuaded him from it; and the third (more favourable to the house of Au-

stria) would have persuaded him to act in favour of the arch-duke Matthias. "The king, adds the author, who had attentively listened to this last, rose up, and opening the window to let in the fresh air, raised his eyes and hands towards heaven, and said aloud, May it please God to form and create in my heart the resolves I ought to take on what you have said, and men shall execute them; Adieu, gentlemen, I must take a walk." Thus ended this conference." Though this project did not absolutely clash with his grand design, there is nevertheless a reasonable foundation for doubting whether he actually ever formed it: it is highly probable the whole was only a feint, concerted be-

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HENRY, when he gave me my letter from king James, read it to me himself: his Britannic majesty there informed me of the proposal which he had enjoined Beaumont to make to the king, and represented to me the interest I had in supporting it, in a manner which, tho' general, had nevertheless so direct a view to the reflections I had made to him on this subject, that I could not doubt but he would, from time to time, be more convinced of the reasonableness and utility of that plan of policy I had sketched out to him. I shall not repeat the assurances of friendship and esteem with which this letter was filled. Beaumont was commissioned to make me many more in his name: neither was he forgot. King James bestowed so many praises upon his personal merit, and his skill in business, as raised him highly in Henry's esteem. If this prince had been still ignorant of the confidence his Britannic majesty placed in me, his letter was sufficient to convince him of it: he indeed appeared much pleased with it, and commanded me to cultivate his friendship carefully; a command which I received with great cheerfulness.

WE have now seen the political state of almost all Europe except Germany; there are perhaps some observations still to be made upon the several Germanic cantons; but that little which is necessary to be known with respect to our affairs, will mix itself imperceptibly with what I have to say of the seditious cabal in France. This article will lead us into sufficient length, as it was the occasion of my journey into Poitou this year, and of his majesty's to Limosin; which took up four of the finest months of the season.

THE reader has doubtless, e'er this, reflected upon the extravagance of an association, composed indifferently of roman catholics and protestants; the roman catholics, Spaniards, and the protestants, French. A party acting upon interests so opposite, that nothing but continual violence could conciliate them; a body of which the duke of Bouillon was the head, and Spain the soul. In this slight view it appears so singular and monstrous, that the reader cannot apprehend any dangerous consequences from a confederacy so ill sorted. I indeed had always the same opinion of it: but as all factions which include repeated acts of disobedience against the sovereign cannot but be very prejudicial

tween him and the duke of Sully, to put his council on a wrong scent, in regard to the great armaments he was making: the

count of Beaumont, his ambassador at London, according to Sini, *Ibid.* 166. endeavoured to inspire him with this notion.

to the state, even supposing that they are disappointed in their principal aim, yet it must be acknowledged, that good policy requires we should make use of every method to hinder them from forming, or when formed to ruin them: the rebels were in this case; they had neither prudence in their resolutions, nor much appearance that they would ever produce any worthy to be feared. However, as it was not fit to suffer such attempts to be made with impunity, his majesty neglected none of the informations he received, and which this year were more numerous than ever. Murat, lieutenant-general of Riom, wrote to me the beginning of March, that he had very lately been informed of some important particulars; for the truth of which although he could not answer, yet he thought himself obliged to communicate them to me; and that I might be better able to judge of them, the same person from whom he received them was the bearer of his letter.

As soon as I began to examine this man, I perceived, from the first questions I asked him, that his deposition would involve so many persons of the highest quality at court, that without going any farther, I judged it of consequence enough to require that his majesty should be present at his examination. The king was then at Saint-Germain; I wrote to him, and in cyphers which he only understood, marked the names of these persons. The king came to Paris immediately, to hear this informer himself, who assured him, that all those persons (and he named them) held correspondences in the chief cities on the coasts of Provence and Languedoc; all which he specified, namely, Toulon, Marseilles, Narbonne, Bayonne, Blaye, and some others; that the count of Auvergne was upon the point of making an attempt upon Saint-Flour when he was arrested; that all these secret practices were favoured by Spain, and the money distributed for that purpose, furnished by this crown. According to this man, the conspirators had already received several thousand pistoles from the Catholic king, expected still more, and even depended upon some supplies of troops; which however, he said, would not be sent, until they had openly declared themselves enemies of the state, by the invasion of those places before mentioned, and of many other maritime forts.

THE truth of these accusations appeared very doubtful, from a circumstance which it is apparent did not escape Murat; and this was, that the informer had been a domestic of Calvairac*, in whose house

* John de Sudrie, baron of Calvairac, a gentleman of the province of Querci.

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he might indeed have heard some conversation on these subjects : but why advance as certain, what had been there proposed as merely possible ? He had received some bad usage from his master, and doubtless the desire of revenge stimulated him to this proceeding : what cannot that motive do, joined to the hope of gain ? which it was well known was so much the greater, as the depositions which were made, appeared of more consequence to his majesty.

I CAN, with much more certainty, relate what passed in the synods and other particular assemblies, which were held by the protestants in Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and the neighbouring provinces. In these assemblies, a spirit of revolt and mutiny always prevailed : among other very bold proposals, it passed by a plurality of voices, that his majesty's permission should be asked to call a general assembly of the protestants, without explaining to him the motive of this request, or the subject to be treated in the assembly. The king, to whom their petition was really presented, did not refuse to comply with it, but declared (as he had a right to do) that he would prescribe to them the place, the matter, and form of this assembly, and send thither a person to represent himself : Châtelleraut was the place he appointed, and myself the person who was to appear there, with a commission, to take care of his majesty's interest. The protestants, those I mean who fomented the seditions in this body, would rather, I believe, have had their request denied, than granted upon such conditions ; they alledged, that, if I joined the title of the king's representative to the quality of governor of the province in which this assembly was to be held, nothing could shield them against the authority I should not fail to arrogate to myself. It may be imagined that, at this time, my brethren expected less favour from me than the most abhorred papist.

Life of Du-
Plessis Mor-
trey, b. II.

THE method which the rebels had recourse to, was to present another petition to his majesty, signed by two or three hundred persons at least ; in which they declared, that, upon more mature deliberation, they found it necessary to entreat he would defer calling this assembly. As soon as Henry was informed of this disposition of the protestants, he had expected to receive another petition, from them, and, in a letter which he wrote to me from Fontainebleau, dated March the 30th, he desired I would advise him what to do upon this occasion : I had received the same informations as his majesty, and used my utmost endeavours to discover the true state of things ; for which purpose, the journey I had taken the preceding year into Poitou

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was of great service to me : however, nothing appeared to me very positive, except that three or four of the most seditious amongst them had endeavoured to raise some disturbance, but with so little success, that the fires they had kindled evaporated in smoke. I may venture to say, that my letters and discourse to the least prejudiced persons in the party, with my solicitude in other respects, had greatly contributed to reduce matters to this point. This it was, upon which the advice and the answer the king demanded of me turned.

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It is certain at least that his majesty never heard more of this second petition which had made so much noise, and by that he was able to guess the nature of all those other reports : but he still continued to receive, in the beginning of April, so many new informations, and those of such consequence, and in appearance so well founded, that he suffered himself to be driven along with the torrent. It was reported and that even by the first president of Toulouse, and many other persons in Guienne, that the protestants, both in that province and in Languedoc, had uttered many disrespectful speeches against his majesty : they added, that these people had resolved to send a deputation, to prevail upon him to recall his grant for holding the assembly at Châtelleraut. In another letter dated April 7. Henry ordered me to come to him the day after Easter, to assist him in taking a resolution upon these new letters, and to be present at the reception of the protestant deputies ; and lastly, to explain to them his intentions in such a manner, as became his majesty to use with subjects who, in some measure, presumed to give laws to their sovereign. It is certain, that, although this prince had been willing to take the trouble of doing this himself, he was not in a condition ; for, during this whole month, he was afflicted with frequent returns of the gout, which had obliged him to have recourse to a remedy that never failed : this was a proper regimen, which he observed with great strictness during part of the month of May. Of all his council, he had no one about his person but Sillery, and him his majesty did not think fit for such a commission.

ALL these circumstances I relate from Henry's letter, which he concluded with telling me, that he would permit me to return to Paris as soon as this affair was terminated. In my answer, which I wrote to this prince while I attended his orders for my departure, I represented to him two things, to which, in my opinion, no reply could be made ; and these were, that if his majesty would not believe, what however was absolutely certain, that all those informations which were given him,

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either with great mystery or great noise, were nothing but the murmurs of some persons hired expressly for that purpose in the provinces, he was then much to blame to suffer his peace to be thus disturbed, when it was in his own power to reduce these rebels to silence. It was upon these transactions, that my enemies suggested those suspicions of me to his majesty, which produced that disgust I have given an account of in the former book: and it may be easily imagined, that while that disgust continued, he had no inclination to chuse me either for his confidant or his agent with the protestants. My return to favour happened in the manner I have already related: he told me, that he could not give a more convincing proof of his being perfectly cured of all his suspicions, than by confirming me in the employment he had at first destined for me. I intreated this prince to send any other person rather than me to Châtelleraut, invested with his authority, because I was apprehensive of affording, without designing it, some new matter for calumny: but Henry reasoned in a quite different manner; he believed, that, after what had passed, he owed to himself, to me, and to my accusers, such an incontestable proof of his good opinion of me, as the shewing me to the public in a post, wherein the sacrifice he expected I should make him of my nearest interests, would set my innocence in the clearest point of view, and silence all malice and detraction; and added graciously, that my enemies themselves had just put him upon his guard against their insinuations, therefore I had nothing to fear. Then, after twice embracing me, with all his usual expressions of tenderness, he ordered me to return to Paris, to put all affairs in such order, that they might receive no prejudice from my absence; to draw up memorials of all those which related to my commission; and to compose myself the instructions which I was to receive in writing from his hand, and with the consent of his council.

THE king, in the mean time, went to pass part of June at Saint-Germain. In the beginning of this month, a defluxion of humours fell upon his foot *, which he hoped to disperse by the exercise of hunting, taking the precaution to have his boot cut open upon the part affected: while this fit lasted, he was not able to apply to any business, although,

* 'I went to the arsenal,' says Henry IV. speaking of one of his fits of the gout, 'with my wife; M. de Sully said to me, "Sire, you have money and never see it;" which really is true enough; for I am satisfied with knowing I have money, without amusing myself with the pleasure

'of looking at it. We went together to the Bastille, and he shewed us what was doing there: I assure you, at that instant I was attacked by the gout, which brought to my mind the proverb, Those who have the gout, have riches.' Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 613.

as he wrote me word, the preservation of one half of his kingdom depended upon it. When his disorder was abated he returned to Paris, where he prepared for his journey to Monceaux, after giving all the necessary orders for my departure.

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I PUT down on paper, all the questions I desired to be resolved, with regard to the several parts of my function as representative of the king; the answers to which were to make up the ground of the instructions upon which I had just agreed with his majesty. This paper I sent to Villeroi and Fresne, who returned it with answers to each question, adding, that if I found them satisfactory, I might reduce them to such a form as I judged proper. I was resolved to have two of these papers, one more general, and the other in the form of a particular memorial, joined to the former: these two papers regulated the manner in which I was to speak and act with the protestants, as I am going to shew.

UPON the first view, the occasion of the assembly at Châtelleraut, did not appear of such importance as it really was, either with respect to the king or the protestant body, being granted for no other purpose but to examine the deputies sent by this body to his majesty, the term of whose offices was expired, and to appoint others to succeed them, an affair which did not require so solemn an assembly as this was likely to be. But, upon a closer examination, we shall find, that the real aim of some of the chief heads of the protestant party, was to take advantage of this assembly, to extend their rights, and to procure the grant of new favours and privileges; a design which his majesty could not better return, than by seizing likewise this opportunity to recall them, with more solemnity, to the observation of the old regulations, the wisdom and utility of which were sufficiently evinced by the effects they had produced; and, instead of suffering them to be infringed, to give them new force, and exact a more strict obedience to them; so that after this, the protestant body in France, being persuaded of the rectitude of the king's intentions, and of his firm resolution to maintain his rights, might either resolve openly to despise his authority, or return with sincerity to their duty: this was the principal point of my commission.

To attain this end, I was enjoined to fix their view principally upon the edict of pacification issued at Nantes, as a fundamental piece, which might serve them equally for a rule to judge of their conduct towards

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the king, and of his towards them. I was to shew them, that this edict, which had suffered so many misinterpretations, being the basis of their liberty, the proof of their fidelity to their king, of their attachment to the public good, and of those sentiments which their religion itself ought to inspire them with; if they observed it exactly, they would neither swerve on one side or the other, any more than Henry had done, who had religiously fulfilled all the obligations it had laid upon him. The free exercise of their religion, the peaceable enjoyment of their estates and employments, the gentleness of the government, the tranquil but solid situation of affairs, daily confirmed and strengthened the security of those promises made by the prince, well known by a long train of effects; and lastly, by the satisfactory answers he had given to every thing of importance expressed in their memorials; all these were so many pledges of faith in him, which the protestants ought to return by such instances of submission and gratitude, as a good and indulgent prince has a right to exact from his subjects: their own interest likewise made it necessary for them to follow this plan of conduct, since, if they justly considered the true state of things, it was they only who run any risks by an infraction.

THE inference to be drawn from all these considerations, and which I was ordered to represent to the assembly, was, that they ought to shew themselves far from a design of demanding that any alteration should be made in the edict of Nantes; such as that of being empowered to chuse themselves a head, either within or without the kingdom, any other than the king himself, who merited that title from them on many accounts. As it could not be foreseen what other demands the protestants would bethink themselves of making, they left it to me to chuse proper arguments either for denying, or eluding them: I was only ordered to signify to them in plain terms, that for the future they must not expect such general assemblies would be permitted; and that this, which his majesty had consented should be held, to instruct them altogether in their duty, and to exhort them to fulfil it, should be in the place of that which they had resolved, in the last synod of Gap, to entreat his majesty to grant them.

THE reasons for this cessation of extraordinary assemblies were sufficiently plain; for they were convened, either on account of some affairs relating to the discipline of the church, some matters of law and police, or lastly for some favour they wanted to obtain of the king: for the first, the protestants have their provincial synods, which his majesty,

jeſty, by abolifhing the extraordinary aſſemblies, made no encroachment upon. All he demanded with reſpect to them, and certainly nothing could be more juſt, was, that they ſhould confine their deliberations to religious affairs; whereas, under this pretence, they often treated of ſuch as related merely to the civil government. If the deſign be to ſettle ſomething relating to the adminiſtration of juſtice and the police, there is no reaſon for excepting them from the general rule, by which all controverted matters of thoſe two kinds, are referred to the tribunals of the judges, and the ordinary magiſtrates; and laſtly, thoſe which are matters of favour, and depend merely upon the king's indulgence, are to be treated by way of petition and ſupplication: nothing is more uſeleſs than thoſe great expences and commotions, which an extraordinary aſſembly occaſions, for an affair in itſelf of little importance.

THERE was another reaſon for ſuppreſſing theſe aſſemblies, which, although I cannot diſguiſe, I may ſoften a little, by barely ſaying, that they often gave occaſion for judgments not very favourable for the proteſtant party; for the public are willing enough to ſhut their eyes upon wife and prudent determinations, though not to the intrigues of the diſaffected, who, in theſe tumultuous aſſemblies, remain confounded with perſons more equitable, but whoſe proceedings are leſs taken notice of. If it happened that any of theſe articles, or others of the ſame nature, ſhould be conteſted at Châtelleraut, it was left to me to put an end to them in whatever manner I judged beſt; and I was even permitted to take thoſe advantages which the profeſſion of one common faith afforded me, to merit their confidence and engage their votes: it was only in caſes of obſtinacy or declared diſobedience, that I was obliged to inform his majeſty, and ſuſpend all reſolutions, till I had received his orders; as likewiſe not to ſuffer the aſſembly to break up without his leave.

WITH reſpect to the article of the deputies, it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that the proteſtants always kept two men of their party at court, one for the eccleſiaſtic order, the other for the ſecular; they were to treat with his majeſty's miniſters, or with the prince himſelf, upon all affairs neceſſary to be communicated to him, and to receive his orders concerning them. Theſe deputies entered upon this office by election, which was renewed every three years, when others ſucceeded to their place. If we go back to the ſource of this inſtitution, we ſhall not find that the proteſtants had any legal title to this pretended right of reſi-

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dence and nomination of the deputies, which they asserted so strenuously; it was not mentioned in the edicts, nor even in the writings that contained these private articles, which were sometimes separate from the treaties: it was only a custom merely tolerated, and first introduced on account of the resistance some sovereign courts made to registering the edict of Nantes, and only to be continued till that was done. However, his majesty had no inclination to deprive the protestants of this privilege: all he required, and this was one of the principal points of my commission, that, for the nomination of these deputies, they should adhere to one of those two methods prescribed by him to their own deputies, when they desired leave to hold the assembly, and if possible to the second, by which his majesty expected that the protestants should present to him the names of six persons chosen from their body, out of which he should name two who were most agreeable to him.

It might possibly happen, that the heads of the party would endeavour to elude those regulations which his majesty proposed to get received in the assembly, and for that purpose affect to confine themselves to this single question; an artifice I was likewise to prevent. As to the affair of Orange, which it was certainly expected would be brought upon the carpet (as indeed it was) I had orders to represent to them, that Henry had laboured in vain to manage it so as that this city, which he could not refuse to restore to the prince of Orange, might by him be left to the French protestants. All therefore that could be done upon this occasion, was to prevail upon Maurice, that in the room of Blaccons who commanded there, and who himself desired permission to leave it, he would place a protestant officer as his lieutenant, whom they might oblige to take the oath of obedience to his majesty. I shall resume this affair in the sequel. Such were my general instructions, dated July 3d 1605, and signed Henry and Forget.

ALL the difference between these general instructions, and the particular memorial joined to them, consisted in this, that the latter made no mention of the declared subject of the assembly, but was confined to some other questions which might probably be discussed there, and tended to prevent those designs from being effected, which it was suspected the heads of the cabal would endeavour to get the multitude's approbation of. This detail, which was not inserted in the first writing, because there was a probability of its being needless, was however
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of great use to me; and it was upon that account, that I made a separate memorial of these instructions.

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THEY imported, that I should not suffer the assembly, either in their debates or in writing, to advance any thing injurious to the Pope, or to stir up again that trifling doctrine of Antichrist, worthy of the synod of Gap, where it had taken birth; that no person should have a seat in the assembly in the quality of a deputy, from any individual whatever, not even from Lesdiguières himself; that they should not, as they had done in that synod, receive letters from foreign princes, particularly from the duke of Bouillon. It seemed of importance to his majesty, that an ungrateful subject, such as Bouillon, should be publicly known to have rendered himself unworthy of any favour from his sovereign. The manner in which others, who might be ranked in this class, should behave in the assembly, was to regulate the treatment they were to receive from me.

IF the quality of president of the assembly, which his majesty earnestly wished they would confer upon me, and which, on this occasion, he would not have been offended with me for accepting, should not be sufficient to give weight to what I said to them, I was to join to it the authority of governor of the province; and, as opportunities offered and the disposition of their minds required, I might give them to understand, that the king was not ignorant of the designs of the seditious protestants; provided that from thence they did not conclude, he was informed of the places where they were carried on.

THERE was so much the more appearance that the article of the cautionary towns given to the protestants would be discussed, as the term, to which the possessions of these places was prolonged by his majesty, was now near expired; and if this should happen, I was to hint, either to the assembly in general, or the deputies in particular, that, provided his majesty found in them that readiness to comply with his measures as he required, he would willingly agree to a farther prolongation. I had orders not to give them any absolute assurances of this favour, but to mention it as what might be granted, and to promise I would obtain it of his majesty: although I had then in my possession the letter of grant for that prolongation, I only obliged myself to keep it secret, till I received the king's commands to make use of it.

As to those fortified towns which had been given to the duke of Bouillon, and which from thence forward were to have no share of the

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funds destined by the king for their maintainance, they were to be declared for ever excluded from that advantage, as likewise from all hope of ever being paid the sum promised by the edict of Nantes for the support of the garrisons. This sum, at that time, amounted to five hundred seventy three thousand four hundred and thirty-two livres, of which ninety thousand livres had been already cut off. Nor were they to expect a new appropriation for those funds which had been assigned them. I had already received some petitions upon these several suppressions; to which I always answered, that I thought this proceeding of his majesty absolutely just. Lastly, by this writing I obliged myself to do nothing without Henry's advice; with whom, from that moment, I began a regular intercourse of letters, most of them very long, and several in cyphers. This memorial is dated July 4. signed by his majesty, and countersigned by Villeroi. Two days afterwards I set out on my journey.

QUEEN Margaret's residence at the castle of Usson, gave her frequent opportunities of hearing news of the rebels; and as soon as she was informed that I was upon the road to Poitou, she thought herself obliged to acquaint me with all the particulars which had come to her knowledge: she had likewise some affairs of her own to impart to me, which I shall take notice of after I have related those which concerned my journey. For this purpose she came from Usson to Toury, from whence she wrote to his majesty, telling him the motive which had induced her to take this step, and the earnest desire she had to confer with me. I had left Paris, taking my rout through Rosny and Lavinville; two hours before the messenger who brought this letter for his majesty, and another for me, arrived. The king seeing by his own letter, and by mine, what this princess desired of him, sent La-Varenne after me on the 9th of July, to deliver me a letter from him, in which he told me, that he should be glad if I would visit queen Margaret, although I should be obliged to leave the road to Châtelleraut, and go back as far as Orleans. La-Varenne gave me the letter queen Margaret had wrote, dated from Toury, July 7. by which I learned that this princess waited for me between Paris and Orleans; and that I might not fail to meet her, she sent Rodelle her master of the horse, to desire I would come as far as Orleans, if I did not meet her before on the road: but she spared me the trouble of going so far; for, upon my arrival at Cercote, I was informed that she was there likewise. My wife having accompanied me to Rosny and Lavinville, I brought her to Cercote with me, that she might take advantage of this opportunity to pay her respects to this princess.

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It was still so early in the morning when I arrived at Cercote, that queen Margaret was not up; however, she ordered me to be admitted into her chamber, where I had the honour to confer with her a full hour before she arose. We resumed our conversation after she was dressed, and spent the whole day in the same manner. I shall not repeat the polite and obliging things this princess said to me: but what I had been told in general by Murat, concerning the civil factions, was minutely particularised to me by her and Rodelle. They named a great number of persons of the first quality in Provence and Languedoc, and even some of the relations of the duke de Montpensier and cardinal Joyeuse, who were engaged in the conspiracy: some of these persons had been in the secret of marechal Biron's designs, and had afterwards joined themselves to those whom they found determined to pursue them. The revenge of this marechal, was not one of their least motives; and they made use of the same methods he had done to excite a rebellion among the people. Besides those towns which, as we have seen, the conspirators endeavoured to surprize, they had views likewise upon Beziers, Narbonne, and Leucate. All these informations queen Margaret and Rodelle offered to support with evidences so clear, as would not, they said, leave me the least room to doubt of their certainty. I gave his majesty an exact account of what I had heard, in a letter I wrote to him from Cercote, dated July 14. I likewise sent him a list of the conspirators names, as I had received it from queen Margaret and Rodelle, but I still persisted in my former opinion; nor, in all they had said to me, did I find occasion to alter it.

It is certain, however, that these informations were too circumstantial and well supported not to merit some belief; for Rodelle had been himself of the cabal, and had left it, only through a reflexion upon the rashness of all their measures. He told me, that La-Chapelle-Biron, and above thirty gentlemen more of his acquaintance, had taken the same resolution to leave the cabal, and inform his majesty of all they knew, provided they could be sure of obtaining the pardon they would implore of him: that they had applied to him to take this step in their favour; and this he proved by the letters they had written to him for that purpose. He added, that they had violent suspicions that my journey to Poitou concealed a secret design of surprizing them: that they had prevailed upon queen Margaret to declare their intentions to me, and the earnest desire they had to efface the remembrance of their error, by their future fidelity and services to his majesty.

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All this was sufficiently clear, and I had no doubt of it remaining: but they endeavoured in vain to persuade me that the whole kingdom was in a flame, while I saw only an inconsiderable number of rash zealots, whom it was easy for his majesty to crush, whenever he would condescend to treat as a serious matter, a design which deserved only derision and contempt. For what remained, as often as I attempted to examine strictly into these informations, in appearance of such weight, and supported with such proofs, I always found that the false greatly exceeded the true.

IN this, however, Henry was of an opinion contrary to mine: he thought the slightest disturbance within his kingdom merited all his attention, "because, said he, the French were ever fond of novelties, "and eagerly admit every change." He often complained, in his answers to my letters, that some of his other ministers had as slight a notion of the present evil as myself: he was more confirmed in his apprehensions, when a memorial from Vivant fell into his hands, which exactly agreed with all that had been told me by queen Margaret and Rodelle. He dispatched orders immediately to Vivant, to send him the person from whom he received those informations; and to me, to make, in concert with Vivant, as soon as I arrived at Châtelleraut, the strictest inquiries into every thing that concerned this cabal. Vivant being one of the protestant deputies to the assembly, this quality might possibly render me suspected by him: the king, however, had taken care to obviate this difficulty, by writing to him that he might place an entire confidence in me. The letter passed through my hands, with a precaution that Vivant should not be named in the affair, lest, by losing his credit with the protestants, he should not have it in his power to serve his majesty effectually with them. As to Rodelle, and the other gentlemen before mentioned, Henry approved of the resolution I had taken with queen Margaret to send them to him: he heard what they had to say, gave them his orders, and sent them back to perform the promises they made him, to labour there for his service. This prince never regretted any expence which these emissaries and informers put him to.]

SOME of them had intercepted the copy of a letter written to the duke of Bouillon, by one of his confidants, whom they suspected to be Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and brought it to the king: this perhaps was the cause of his increased vigilance. I shall give an account of this letter here, that the reader may be able to judge whether the inferences that

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that were drawn from it at Monceaux were altogether just. It made part of the packet which Henry sent me from this place. Saint-Germain, or whoever this correspondent of Bouillon's was, by this letter endeavoured principally to persuade him, that it was necessary he should send some person in his name to the assembly at Châtelleraut, who might support his interests there; or write at least a letter, which his friends might produce. The very considerable part the duke acted among the protestants, the necessity of proving his innocence, and the advantage to be acquired from shewing how much he suffered for the common cause, the general interest of the whole party, his own credit to be maintained with foreigners, the solemnity of this assembly, and the example of that of Gap, were so many motives which in the beginning of this letter were urged with the utmost earnestness to move him.

THE rest was a confused mass of conjectures, inferences, and precautions, on the subject of this assembly; all intended to prove, that the protestant church had nothing to hope or expect but from his efforts alone. The author of this letter supposes, that Henry had totally forgot all his former promises; and that he openly sacrificed the protestants to their most cruel enemies: as proofs of which, he alledged the connection between the king's council and that of Rome, the immense sums which he said were expended to make a Pope, the rejoicings for his election, and the favour the Jesuits enjoyed, sufficiently shewn by the demolition of the pyramid. He afterwards considered what, in the present circumstances, might be the result of the assembly; and presaged nothing but misfortunes, as well on account of the timidity of the party, as the artifices the king would make use of to obtain his ends.

HERE I began to appear upon the scene, and it may be easily guessed what sort of figure I made. According to the author of this letter, I had proposals to make, which could not fail of removing all difficulties; among others, that of prolonging the time for the possession of the cautionary towns. Saint-Germain hoped contrary to his first hopes, or rather, to reassure Bouillon, depended upon my artifices with respect to the choice of the deputies all failing, and reasoning his own way upon the struggles he supposed I should have in my mind between my conscience, which could not yield to adopt the policy of the council, and my ambition, which would not suffer me to make the Pope and the papists my enemies, he sometimes saw no probability that I would take upon myself a commission which I could

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not execute to the king's satisfaction, without betraying my religion ; nor serve my religion, without exposing myself to unavoidable disgrace. He likewise saw nothing but obstacles and difficulties in such a commission, which I should never be able to surmount. As he did not know that his majesty, besides leaving the general places of security to the protestants, would consent also that the individuals of that body should keep those they were at present in possession of ; and believing that this circumstance alone was sufficient to alienate their affections, he triumphed in my perplexity and confusion : he alledged, that the king had said, the person whom he should send in his name to the assembly, would have nothing to do but to declare his will there. Upon these words, he affirmed boldly, that rather than go to any place in my government where the people would not pay me the honours I thought due to me, nor even allow me to be present at their consultations, I would find reasons to get myself dispensed with from taking that journey ; or at the worst, if I should go, Saint-Germain engaged to the duke of Bouillon, that all my authority should not hinder the assembly from giving his letter a respectful reading, or his deputy an honourable reception.

THE misfortune was, that the weakness of this duke's partisans was a point so generally known, that, notwithstanding all this shew of confidence, and ostentation of power, his friend was obliged to confess, that the coldness of the provinces, and the neglect of the party, with respect to him, was very great. And having thus spared the duke's confusion by these softened expressions, he approved of the caution which Bouillon had been the first to advise should be used when he was mentioned, which was, not to make any demand for him in his name, which was the least liable to opposition ; but confine themselves to remonstrances from the protestant body in general, upon the depriving him of his places, refusing him justice, his banishment, and the persecution he was exposed to on account of his zeal for his religion. He considered what danger might be apprehended from a letter written in this form to the assembly, and finding none, although they should even pay no regard to it, and, supposing the worst, sacrifice it to the king ; he exhorted the duke of Bouillon to write such a one, giving it as his opinion, that it should not be made public at first ; but, being read on a sudden to the assembly, derive some advantage from those first emotions of compassion which it was likely to excite. He added, that the party would look upon it as a stroke of great consequence for the duke, if the letter, instead of being presented to the
assembly

assembly by one single person, should be brought thither by the deputies from the upper and lower Guyenne, where his fortresses were situated; or that they should appear to have undertaken the commission of themselves, or, what was still better, by the orders of their provincials.

THIS was the letter which made so much noise at court. To the packet his majesty sent me, Sillery thought proper to add a letter from himself upon this subject alone. Sillery was the person whom Henry kept near him, and who was then employed, as well in reconciling the prince of Conti and the count of Soissons, at that time at variance with each other, as in the affair of Orange, which, according to the advices his majesty received from Lesdiguières and others, was taking an unfavourable turn. When I read the copy of this letter to the duke of Bouillon, I was convinced that the court would take a false alarm at it. I saw nothing in the contents which did not confirm me in my opinion that the seditious party was very inconsiderable, careless, unsteady, destitute of all resources, and far from any intention to undertake any enterprise of importance; and that Bouillon, who had more experience than the rest, would not engage in such extravagant schemes as were proposed to him one after the other, schemes without order or connexion, and leading to no fixed end, since there was nothing but confusion to be expected from them. In a word, amidst that false courage which is inspired by great presumption, and notwithstanding that affectation of fine policy, I thought I could plainly perceive disunion among the members of this body, and despair in its leader. I therefore persisted in my former opinion, and declared my sentiments freely in the answer I sent to Monceaux; although probably, by doing so, I rendered my sincerity a little doubtful: but I comforted myself by the reflection that those suspicions would last at most, but till the discovery of this mystery, which would be effected by the assembly at Chatelleraut.

As for the other assertions in this letter, I can assure the reader, that I never felt those struggles and perturbations of mind, which the writer of it, and many other persons, attributed to me upon the choice I was to make, between serving my prince, and my religion; since in reality, in this affair, I saw no foundation for making such an alternative. A common prejudice prevails among all sects of religion; a man is never supposed to be a sincere professor of the one he has embraced, unless he supports it obstinately, even in such points where it is most

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visibly wrong. Upon this footing, I confess, the method I was determined to pursue might, by the author of that letter, and those who judged like him, draw upon me the epithets of false brother, deserter, and if they please, traitor: however, it was not the approbation of such as those, that I proposed to obtain, but of persons who, of whatever party or religion they were, would, in their judgment of my conduct, preserve the ballance of equity and disinterestedness. If ever religion admits of the assistance of policy, it ought to be of a policy pure, simple, and upright as itself; any other may indeed appear to serve it, but does not in reality, and sooner or later never fails to ruin it.

HAVING determined to be guided by no other principle in my transactions with the assembly, I thought I could not too carefully avoid all appearances of affectation or disguise in my conduct; that those who were influenced by an imprudent zeal, or actuated by a spirit of cabal, might have no hopes of gaining or seducing me: therefore, from the beginning, I shewed myself solicitous to support, on this occasion, that character by which all France was to know how I would act on every other; that is, of a man as sincerely attached to the true principles of the protestant religion, as incapable of drawing the false consequences which many of the protestants did, or of approving their irregular proceedings. The speech I made at the opening of the assembly, which lasted half an hour, was wholly calculated to produce this effect, without troubling myself to consider whether it would give pleasure or offence to the greatest number.

I BEGAN by representing to them, that, among so many persons blindly devoted to the will of the prince, his majesty would not have fixed upon a person to treat with them whose unshaken constancy to his religion was so well known, if he was more solicitous to support or increase his rights, than to persuade their judgments and gain their hearts: that this reason was sufficient to make them place an absolute confidence in all that I should say or do, since I certainly had not waited for this moment basely to betray my religion. But I declared to them, at the same time, that they must expect to see me as zealous for the interest of my prince, when it did not injure what I owed to my religion and the general good, since it was incumbent upon me to justify, to his majesty himself, the choice he had made of me; and to support, in the view of the whole kingdom, the reputation of a prudent and upright minister; which I flattered myself I now enjoyed. I invited them to share this honour with me, observing, that here honour
and

and good policy were the same. This point indeed I found most difficulty to persuade them of; and when they heard me assert, that their cautionary cities had no fence but their own good inclinations, they, instead of taking my words literally, looked upon them as a paradox, or a figure in oratory.

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NOTHING, however, was more certain: and to shew the protestants, that the first foundation of their policy was false, I entered upon the discussion of this principal point; that is, the keeping of their towns, in which they fancied their greatest strength consisted, and concerning which, as I was informed, they were incited to make very earnest and very bold representations to his majesty. I shewed them, that the great number of little paltry places which they held under this title, was so far from being advantageous to them, that they would hasten their ruin, if ever they had an attempt made upon them by a king of France, the present king especially, to whom many of their officers were attached; because that not having any fortrefs so mean, or governor so inconsiderable, who would not pretend to the honour of making some resistance, it must necessarily happen, that their tolerable cities, which were about ten or twelve in number, must suffer greatly from this useless dispersion of their soldiers and ammunition, and from time to time fall into the hands of their enemies; I did not even except Lefdiguieres *, their Achilles, provided that he waited for this extremity, to separate himself from them: in reality, without judging too rashly of this officer, it might be confidently asserted, that the only religion capable of fixing him, was that which could secure him in the possession of his riches, and the authority he had always exercised throughout his province. Some other proofs of his being but slightly attached to the doctrine of the protestant church, might be produced. I am obliged to discover in this manner the real principles of Lefdi-

* The Calvinist writers have treated the constable de Lefdiguieres in the same manner we see them treat all those who abjure their religion. Le Vassor is the most cruel, and the duke of Sully one of the most moderate of his enemies; he is not the only one who believed that his desire to be made constable, was a small inducement to his conversion. "After the death of the constable de Luynes, says Amelot de La-Houffaye, Lewis XIII. sent the sieur Claude de Bullon to the marechal de Lefdiguieres, to acquaint him, that if

"he did not actually become a catholic, he must not expect to be constable, tho' that office had been promised him. Bullon, who had long been a staunch Huguenot, going to the marechal, asked him aloud, Sir, do you believe the transubstantiation? I do, answered the marechal, who had guessed at the meaning of the question. Since you assure me of that, says Bullon, I inform you that you will be made constable." Art. Bonne, &c.

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THE conduct of Du-Plessis was very different, but still more to be pitied: this man, in whom an ardent zeal for his party held the place of experience and military virtue, had taken it into his head to fortify his castle of Saumur, and did it in such a manner, that to defend it would require a garrison of eight thousand men, with ammunition in proportion. I desired to know where Du-Plessis would procure all this, should he be attacked unexpectedly; and added, that what I said to them was not by way of information, since I was not ignorant that they were condemned to know this truth, by the result of the deliberations in their provinces, as well as by their own losses; but only to shew them, that the king's council reasoned justly upon their situation: and that if, notwithstanding this knowledge, they were left in peace, that consideration ought to increase their gratitude and affection for the prince their benefactor.

I THEN proceeded to acquaint the deputies with his majesty's intentions, in a manner that would admit of no doubt or equivocation: that they were for the future not to receive in their synods, or even in their houses, any deputies or letters from foreign princes, cities, communities, or French lords; namely, messieurs de Rohan, de Bouillon, de Lesdiguières, de La-Force, de Châtillon, and Du-Plessis, because the king would not suffer any affairs of importance to be treated of in his kingdom, without his participation: that upon no pretence or reason whatever, they were ever more permitted to hold an assembly like those they had formerly held; but if they had any request to make to his majesty, they were to apply to the deputies, who were allowed to stay at court for this purpose, and that it should be expressed in the *cabier* of their province. I declared to them, that if they pretended, in this assembly, to take resolutions contrary to these orders, besides the other inconveniences to which they would expose themselves, they must expect to see me make use of all the power annexed to my commission, and all the authority granted to a governor in his province, to bring them back to their duty. This was the substance of my speech to the assembly; leaving it to them to settle at leisure the affairs of the deputies, and the cities of security.

THIS speech, and particularly the declaration with which I concluded it, gave great offence to many deputies of the assembly; it occasioned several

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several warm disputes in their private consultations, and four or five deputations to me : those whose interest it was that the assembly should not proceed to more essential affairs, desired no better than to waste the time in this kind of preliminary questions and protracted them on purpose. But with a little industry, and some address, I put an end to this useless prelude. The king highly resented their not chusing me president of the assembly; though afterwards, altering his opinion on that head, he had advised me not to accept of it: he thought that, upon several considerations, I merited this honour from them; and said publicly with great resentment, that on this occasion the protestants had given an equal proof of their disregard to the public good, as jealousy of me; but it is certain, that I was the first, and even the only one, who made any objection to it *, and this for reasons which I wrote his majesty word I would tell him myself, and with which he would be satisfied.

* The author of Du-Plessis-Mornay's life, on the contray, maintains, that the duke of Sully endeavoured, by all the means

he could, to get himself chosen president, but that he had only two votes for him. Book ii. p. 309.

M E M O I R S

OF

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXII.

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THE general assembly of the protestants at Châtelleraut was already opened, when the king received a letter from the duke of Bouillon, which was brought by a man named Ruffy. In this letter Bouillon acquainted his majesty, that a league was actually forming among the German princes against the house of Austria; and that these princes, being desirous of strengthening themselves with the power and assistance of his majesty, had fixed upon him to be a mediator between the king and them. On their part, he promised a full security to the king and kingdom; and on his own, he offered, with an effusion of the noblest sentiments, to assist this design with his person and forces, expressing great joy at his having found an opportunity so often hinted at by Montluet, when, in writing to him by the king's orders, he told him, that it was by real and effectual services, and not by words only, that for the future he could persuade this prince of the purity of his intentions.

HENRY, at the receipt of this letter, was neither much moved in favour of the duke of Bouillon, nor greatly pleased with the pretended scheme: far from accepting an offer in appearance so favourable to his designs,

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designs, he was apprehensive of raising an unsurmountable obstacle to the execution of them by too great precipitation; besides, the snare which Bouillon laid for him, was too thinly disguised to produce the effect it was designed for. Nothing could be more improbable, than that the German princes should chuse Bouillon to act the part of a mediator and reconciler, he who was himself considered by the council of France as a criminal. Henry therefore contented himself with telling Ruffly, in answer to it, that the duke's informations were too indeterminate, and came too late. Bouillon would certainly have expected very little success from this artifice, if he had known that a letter, which he had written to the protestants assembled at Chatelleraut, fell at the same time into his majesty's hands. This letter was a kind of answer to that which, as we have observed, had been lately sent to Bouillon by Saint-Germain-de-Clan, and it was well known was designed for him; though, in one part of it, he mentions Saint-Germain as a third person. By the contents, it was plain, that the letter he wrote his majesty from Germany, was done with no other view but to induce the king to treat him more favourably in the assembly, and to hinder him from suspecting the true motives of his conduct.

THE duke of Bouillon, in his letter to Saint-Germain, did not lose sight of his quality of chief of the party, since it was written with an intention to regulate the proceedings of the assembly. The nomination of the deputies was the article first and principally considered in it: he gave his opinion of each of those persons who might pretend to this office, such as La-Nouë, Du-Plessis, Bellujon, and Saint-Germain himself, in whose favour he gave his vote for continuing him in his employment, from which he was now discharged, and interested himself so much in it as to exhort the protestants to unite their endeavours to make the election fall upon him: he bestowed great praises upon La-Nouë, but recommended it to them to give the preference to Saint-Germain, the office which the first exercised at Geneva so usefully for the party, affording a plausible pretence for excluding him from the deputation, without which it was probable he might be offended. He spoke of Du-Plessis, as of a man too obstinately attached to his own opinions, and able likewise to make himself be listened to and respected by Lesdigueres; which to the duke seemed so important a point, that he considered the want of that power in Bellujon almost as a crime. Bellujon, he allowed, had understanding, prudence and address, and, next to Saint-Germain, had the best claim to the deputation. The perfect agreement between those two might indeed produce miracles;

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but Bellnjon's attachment to Lesdiguières was, in the opinion of Bouillon, a stain in his character which could not be effaced: he would have done better to have owned freely, that he was jealous of the reputation Lesdiguières had acquired in the party. Another fault which Bouillon attributed, equally and without exception, to all the candidates for the office of deputy, was that attention they discovered to their own interest, which however he considered as no objection, because of its being so general.

BOUILLON next proceeded to speak of himself; and here vanity dictated every word. He informed Saint-Germain, that it was reported in Germany, the king was desirous of being reconciled to him, and that Parabere or Montluet would be soon sent to him for that purpose; and, to remove all suspicions of the truth of this assertion, he sent him a letter which he said Montluet had written to him, in which he desired him to apply to some persons who might be able to effect a reconciliation between Henry and him. From all this Bouillon drew a thousand consequences, upon the consideration they had for him in Germany, the great advantages which the protestant party received from him, and the fears with which he inspired the king and his council: he was not willing to leave his brethren in doubt, that he would not hear all the propositions his majesty made to him, through an apprehension that they were only snares which were laid for him, to deprive him of the authority he had acquired among the people. He lightly passed over the article of sending some person in his name to the assembly, and spoke of it as a thing subject to difficulties; and upon which it was necessary to consult Lesdiguières, Du-Plessis, and Saint-Germain.

BUT he dwelt with a peculiar satisfaction upon the solemn assemblies which were held at his house, composed of all the most distinguished persons in Germany, asserting that the protestant religion must necessarily receive the highest benefit from them. By the resentment he here discovered against Lesdiguières, it was judged that the latter had declared his sentiments of these so much boasted assemblies a little too freely; but the duke of Bouillon, to give a just idea of their extreme utility, assured his party, that the sole apprehension of what might be resolved upon there was sufficient to disturb Henry's repose, and make him use every method to gain him. He added, that he had been often reproached by the persons who composed these assemblies, with not having made the court of France sufficiently sensible of the advantages he possessed,

possessed, and had received offers from them to take this trouble upon themselves; but that he had opposed this effect of their zeal, by representing to them (with wonderful modesty) that the jealousy which Henry entertained of him being the true cause of the difference between them, their intercession would have no other consequence but to augment that jealousy, and prejudice themselves, without serving him. The only method by which Henry could be brought to reason (which he insinuated was the opinion of this whole assembly of friends, as well as his own) was to reduce him, through fear of what he might undertake, to a necessity of granting them all they desired.

ALL the notice this very singular letter deserved (if it be granted that it deserved any) was to make use of it to prevent some demands which it was probable might be made in the assembly; for, as to the rest, whom could Bouillon expect to impose upon by his arrogant boasts? There is no necessity for seeking any other proof than what these ridiculous rodomantados afford, that the seditious party had made no preparations, either within or without the kingdom, for a revolt; that they did not yet understand each others schemes, or had come to any explanation concerning their common and general interest. With regard to this new pretended league in favour of the protestants; there was good reason for thinking of it as Lefdiguieres did: in one word, that it was the mere invention of Bouillon. Caumartin never mentioned it in his letters to the king, although he had a conference with the landgrave of Hesse concerning every thing that related to the duke of Bouillon; and all the landgrave desired to know of him was, if the king had really employed Monluet in the expresses his majesty had sent to Sedan. The reason which induced the landgrave of Hesse to ask this question, was a report which had been spread in Germany, that his most Christian majesty was endeavouring to get possession of Sedan by surprise, and to abolish the reformed religion there. It was plain that this report was raised by Bouillon himself, who, taking occasion from that to gratify his hatred of the king, insinuated at the same time, that his city was so strong, Henry could have no hopes of taking it but by a stratagem: this was, indeed, to possess the art of uniting together presumption, malice, and falsehood. All the duke of Bouillon's talents might be reduced to a great fertility of invention, and consummate dexterity in spreading reports disadvantageous to his enemies. Of the same kind was that which prevailed concerning the resolution taken by the Swisses assembled at Baden, contrary to the interests of France, and proceeded from the same person: it occasioned, for a short time, some

1605. apprehensions in the kingdom, as the business mentioned in the former year, in which the leagues of the Grisons were employed, still remained unfinished; but when it was found that Caumartin, who would not have failed to have informed the king of it immediately if it had been true, was wholly silent concerning it, there was sufficient room to believe, that it was only an invention of those whose interest it was, that affairs should not go well in those cantons.

I COULD have wished, that his majesty had shewn the same contempt for the informations of those mercenary spies, whose numbers began to increase to such a degree, that they became chargeable to the government; and I freely own, that I regretted those large sums which were disbursed, to pay this kind of service, which, on account of the interest those from whom it was received were governed by, either with regard to themselves, to augment the garrisons of a city, or to procure a considerable gratuity, was greatly suspected by me. A certain man gave information of an assembly which was to be held at Puy-laurens in the upper Languedoc; he gave in a memorial of what had passed there, and likewise assured us, that he himself had been present. Another officer or soldier of Quercy prevailed upon Vivant to send him to the king, because he said he had been solicited by a friend in Perigord. of his at Sarlat to seize Domme; and declared the names of those who had spoken to them both upon this subject: this determined Henry to send Thémînes thither to seize the persons accused. All these informations were afterwards found to be either false, or excessively exaggerated. It was not my opinion that all precaution should be neglected; on the contrary, I was the first to advise the king to send some trusty persons to reside in Perigord and Quercy. The king, to whom I was not accustomed to speak in this manner, conceived great apprehensions from it, and I was obliged to assure him I had received no bad news from either of these provinces.

BUT the method I would have preferred to all these little enquiries, as being both the shortest and most secure, was to give, from time to time, and as occasions offered, examples of severe punishment, such as the arrest against the two Luquisses, Provincial gentlemen. It was resolved at the Arsenal, that, before I went away, an attempt should be made to seize them; for which purpose, the king made use of Ranchin, physician to the constable, who amused these mutineers so artfully, that the chevalier Montmorency seized nine or ten of the faction altogether, with their two leaders, and confined them in the prison of

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of Aiguemortes: they were so indiscreet, that, amidst the confusion caused by their first surprize, they confessed themselves guilty of carrying on criminal correspondences with Spain. Henry, fully resolved to punish them, sent the chevalier de Montmorency and Ranchin, at their return from this expedition, to Chantilly, to tell the constable that he must come the next day and prepare matters for their trials. It was this plot which made his majesty renew his design of taking a journey this year towards Provence. The report of an armament of galleys being fitted out by the Spaniards at Naples, was a second inducement. However, I saw no greater reason for taking umbrage at this armament now, than before, the Spaniards making almost the same preparations every year, on account of their trade to the Levant.

THE king was likewise informed, that some of the leading men in the assembly, sought only to prolong the time in useless debates, to the end that I might quit it through weariness, or that affairs of another kind might suffer by my absence; and to effect this, had resolved to make use of several pretences, such as sending the deputies directly to the king to propose their demands, or to bear their general thanks, as if the assembly was looked upon as useless. Henry ordered Parabere, who was going to his government, to confer with me concerning this report, relying wholly upon my diligence to dispatch the business of the assembly with speed, but at the same time completely. For which purpose, I resolved to take measures, so much the more likely to succeed, as they flattered the vanity of the deputies. His majesty also commanded Parabere to assist me in my endeavours to discover the authors of these intrigues, but he would not venture to trust him with the secrets of most consequence; and even when he sent him to me to act in concert upon a certain memorial, he thought it necessary to send me this memorial by another hand, that I might have time to examine it, and take such measures as I thought proper, before the arrival of Parabere. Henry did not act in this manner thro' an apprehension of his failing in his duty, but Parabere had one fault, which is only so with respect to politics, he could never believe ill of any one; and another, which is generally joined to the former, a readiness to contract friendships with all sorts of men, whether ill or well affected to the government: he was never moved with any thing that was said concerning the French faction; and as often as the king mentioned the duke of Bouillon in his presence, he never failed to justify his innocence, and attributed all the crimes that were alledged against him to the malice of his enemies. It was this prepossession that made

1605. his majesty, though he discovered all his displeasure against the duke to Parabere, assign his former practices against him as the cause, without giving any hint to him of the more recent proofs he had of his disobedience; it was my part also, to regulate my conduct with Parabere upon this knowledge.

BUT setting aside all that was reported to the king, let us see what really passed in the assembly. The first meetings were as tumultuous and disorderly as I had expected they would be: the disaffected party assiduously applied themselves to imbitter the minds of others, and prepare them for sedition, because they thought it would be more difficult to inflame them afterwards, if they suffered the assembly to take a peaceable turn. They therefore had recourse to their accustomed arts, and industriously confirmed the false reports they had raised, that the king was going to abolish their privileges, cancel their synods, to take advantage of the present assembly, to declare all the pensions he was accustomed to give to the ministers of the protestant religion struck off from the accounts of his revenues. Henry, when he complained of the aversion of the protestants for him, and for those whom he employed in affairs of state, used sometimes to say, that they deserved to be deprived of their pensions, offices, and governments. These words were reported to the assembly, as a fixed resolution and a positive declaration.

As I was not ignorant from what source those envenomed allegations proceeded, after having represented the falshood of them, I resolutely opposed their making any demands in this assembly, in the name, or on the part of Bouillon, Lefdiguières, and Du-Plessis; nor would I suffer any person to speak there, but those that had a claim to that privilege, by their quality of deputies from the provinces. I caused it to be privately intimated to Du-Plessis, that I left it to his choice, either to stay voluntarily from the assembly at Châtelleraut, or to come there as a mere spectator, and as a private man. This mortified him extremely; but he took the first part, either that, despairing of success, he was willing to avoid the blame of any resolutions taken in his absence, although contrary to all his schemes, or that he promised himself some resource, or perhaps vengeance, by procuring an insurrection in the assembly in his favour. In effect, he so fixed the deputies from Dauphiny in his interest, that they cried out, nothing could be done without him. But I took my measures so well, that I made the presence of Du-Plessis as unnecessary as that of Bouillon. From him

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him I expected no less than such an instance of resentment; but that Lesdeguieres should debase himself so far, as to act, by his emissaries, the part of a clamourer, in favour of a man so justly in disgrace with his majesty; he who lately had received a distinguishing favour for Créquy, his son-in-law; this was an instance of meanness and ingratitude that I could with difficulty pardon in him. On all these occasions I saw the utility of having taken proper steps, long before the meeting of the assembly, to secure to myself the best part of the votes.

In proportion as I saw my party increase in strength, I exerted my authority; I cut short all trifling and subtil questions; I insisted upon their proceeding to business, and, above all things, to look upon every thing which related to the royal authority as sacred: the violation of that was what Henry most apprehended, and indeed his fears were not wholly groundless. It will be an eternal stain upon the reputations of Bouillon, Du-Plessis, D'Aubigné, Constant, Saint-Germain, and some others, but more especially Lesdeguieres, that they set their hands to a paper, the certainty of which has been but too well proved, wherein they laid the foundation of a Calvinist republic, free and absolutely independent of the sovereign, in the heart of France. These terms, indeed, are not used in the writing, they seem to have industriously avoided them; but terms are of no consequence where the thing is plainly meant: and I ask those very persons, what was to be understood by the establishment of a body, the leaders of which were as closely connected with each other, as separated from every one else, and from the provincial councils, to which the supreme general council gives laws? What was meant by the assistance they there endeavoured to procure from foreign powers, the obligation they imposed upon all governors and men in public offices, to take certain oaths which were prescribed to them? and, lastly, by their excluding the Roman catholics, and officers particularly attached to the king, from any post, dignity, or employment in the new party? Du-Plessis, who had apparently some reason to be apprehensive of my declaring to his majesty the part he had in this writing, thought it necessary, when the result of the assembly rendered the scheme ineffectual, not to incur the danger of being silent upon it; therefore, when he sent an apology to the king for not being present at the assembly, he added a formal disavowal of every thing contained in that paper.

THIS scheme was among the number of those whose execution it is necessary to hinder with as much caution as possible; I was willing therefore

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therefore, to know whether a great part of the protestant body were made acquainted with it, and continued to adhere to it: I mentioned it to the deputies, but in general terms. under the title of an association, and complained of reserve and distrust, which however I made them sensible was not wholly free from blame. Their answer was, that if Henry could live for ever, the protestants, satisfied with his word, would, from that moment renounce all precaution, resign their cities of security, refuse all offers of assistance from foreigners, and consider all particular regulations for the preservation of their community as useless; but that their fears of finding very different sentiments in his successors, obliged them to take measures for their own security. This bold confession gave me more pleasure than an artful answer would have done; for if the assembly had been concerned in the project, they would not have confined themselves to answer only the literal meaning of my words, but, struck with the secret reproach contained in them, would have endeavoured to justify themselves by repeated protestations, and an absolute denial.

I WAS convinced therefore, that hitherto the contagion of seditious discourse and wicked examples had spread no farther than those six or seven persons whom I have named: but it was not so easy to make Henry believe it, or to remove his apprehensions that the evil would soon become general; he suffered himself to be greatly affected with that blind facility with which the populace received every impression, given them by those whom they looked upon as their leaders and defenders, and the fatal consequence which might ensue from it, if, unfortunately for France, he should die while the Dauphin was yet a child: he sometimes told me, that, on this occasion, my particular interest was strongly connected with that of the public, as being one of the chief officers of the crown, and appointed lieutenant to the company of his second son, if God should give him one, as it soon after happened. But all things considered, what could Bouillon wandering and despised, Du-Plessis with his pen, Constant and D'Aubigné with their tongues, be capable of doing against an authority so solidly fixed, as that which Henry was at present in a condition to leave to his son? The uncertainty of the royal succession had always been, in my opinion, almost the only danger he had to fear.

I MENTIONED this affair to the deputies of the assembly as opportunities offered, without postponing the principal one which I had brought first upon the carpet, which was, the nomination of the particular deputies,

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ties. The protestants claimed a right to nominate these deputies themselves, alledging that his majesty was not concerned in it: but I convinced them of their mistake, by representing to them, that his majesty, as king, ought to have the principal part in an affair which had so necessary an influence upon order and tranquillity, and was so closely connect'd with the civil government, that, upon the character of the deputies who were chosen, depended in great measure, the good or bad intelligence between the two religions; and this I supported by an example drawn from the thing itself, which was, the artful and dissingenuous conduct of some of those who had formerly exercised this employment.

To decide this combat of different opinions, I propos'd that the assembly should determine upon a certain number of persons proper for this office, among whom the king should chuse two he best approved of; and, notwithstanding the repugnance I perceiv'd they had still to this expedient, I did not despair of having it compl'd with, as I had very considerable gratuities to dispose of to those who acted conformable to his majesty's intentions. But here Henry himself rais'd an obstacle, without attending to it: he had judg'd, by the unanimous opposition the assembly made to this point, that I should never be able to carry it, therefore he wrote to me to consent that the two deputies should be propos'd, and chosen in concert by him and the protestants, a concession which only increas'd the obstinacy of the assembly: for whether his majesty declar'd publicly the contents of his letters, or that those to whom he confid'd them did not keep his secret, all the intentions of this prince were as soon and as perfectly known in the assembly, as in the council itself. Villeroi sent me notice of it, but I knew it before; for this cause, I insist'd that Sillery and he should always write to me with their own hands; a precaution which I observ'd myself, and was sometimes so much fatigued by it, that I was oblig'd to refer them both to the letters I wrote to his majesty, which they took care afterwards to burn. However, I carry'd my point in the assembly; six persons were to be propos'd to his majesty, from among whom he was to chuse the two deputies: and I likewise manag'd it so as that in these six there should not be one who had given any public marks of disobedience or mutiny. Henry look'd upon this success as one of the most important services he could have receiv'd from me.

SOME of the deputies request'd, that a third deputy should be created, and this deputy to be always one of the protestant ministers. It was said, that Berault us'd his utmost endeavours to obtain this office, and intended.

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 one of the provincial deputies: he had also, it was confidently asserted,
 many schemes to accomplish, especially in favour of the duke of Bou-
 illon; and he was the person who prevailed upon the assembly at Mau-
 vefin, to write to the duke, to assure him that the protestant party in
In Armagnac. France had still, in all their proceedings, an eye to his person and in-
 terest. However, Berault, bold as he was, durst not shew himself
 upon this occasion, and the proposal was absolutely rejected; as was
 likewise another, which three or four persons ventured to offer that
 the protestant party should chuse deputies themselves, which were not
 to reside near the king, but in some parts of the chief provinces in the
 kingdom, and correspond immediately with the deputies-general at
 court. If this scheme had taken place, there would have been a ne-
 cessity for redoubling our attention to the conduct of these subordinate
 deputies.

WITH respect to the quality of the deputies, his majesty never made
 any objection, provided they had the reputation of being men of pro-
 bity and lovers of peace; and upon this, he carefully avoided every
 thing that had the appearance of constraint, as was evident when it was
 debated whether governors of fortresses might be appointed deputies;
 the king yielded to the arguments urged by the assembly for the ne-
 gative: and also on the subject of La-Nouë and Du-Coudrai, whom
 the protestants would not have placed in the list, alledging the absence
 of the first, and the employment of the second; however, they all after-
 wards agreed upon La-Nouë. As for me, I gave my vote for excluding
 Saint-Germain, notwithstanding the extreme desire they shewed to have
 him continued with Bellujon as his coadjutor. The king neither ap-
 proved of the latter, nor even of Coudrai; but being willing to shew
 some respect for Lesdiguières, he was enclined to chuse the deputy
 from the province of Dauphine. Des-Bordes and Marabat were also
 proposed; his majesty had a long time wished to do something for
 Marabat, although I assured him he was one of Bouillon's creatures; but
 he altered his intention, when Marabat, by imprudently sending his two
 children to the duke of Bouillon, left him no room to doubt of the truth
 of my assertions; and this alone was sufficient to exclude him from
 the deputation. Of all that were proposed for this office, there was not
 one who so much merited to have all the votes in his favour, as an advo-
 cate of Castres, named La-Devêse: but the reputation he had justly ac-
 quired of virtue and impartiality, was alone sufficient to render him ob-
 noxious to his brethren; he gained nothing but the honour of having
 merited

merited the confidence of his king, who wrote him a letter which I delivered to him with the utmost secrecy, lest it should entirely ruin him in the opinions of the protestants. When I became better acquainted with him, I looked upon him as a man, whose knowledge and abilities might be of great use to me. The remainder of July was spent in proposing, chusing, rejecting, or approving the different candidates.

THE choice of the deputies continued to be debated with the same heat, during the first part of the following month. The assembly renewed their solicitations in favour of Saint-Germain and several others, to whom Henry would have even preferred Marabat; but as a detail of these disputes is not sufficiently interesting to deserve any longer time should be taken up with it, I shall conclude it at once, by saying, that La-Nouë having promised his majesty by Roquelaure and me, that he would break with the duke of Bouillon, and recall his children from Sedan, the king chose him from among the three persons proposed for the nobility, and Du-Cros from those for the gown, who had Lefdiguieres to solicit for him. This choice, which was very agreeable to Henry, and highly praised by his ministers themselves, was made very seasonably to stop the mouths of some slanderers, who reported that the king, after receiving a letter from me, appeared so greatly enraged, that it was evident his design did not succeed well under my management. One trifling letter served them for a pretence to propagate this story. In my answer to Villeroi, who sent me a copy of it, I told him, that there were no persons who gave so little credit to this report as those who spread it.

As to the success of this affair, the glory of which was attributed entirely to me, without affecting a misplaced modesty, I shall freely own that I accomplished my designs, by convincing the greatest part of the protestant body, that they might safely rely upon Henry's intentions and sentiments with respect to them, for the preservation of their persons and interests; and that those few examples of severity, or rather justice, which they complained of, were greatly disproportionate to the injuries he had received from them. I would not have it imagined, that by speaking in this manner, I gave the protestants the least hint of those favourable designs for the party, with which the mind of Henry was then employed: to serve a prince at the expence of his secret was to betray him. I was even particularly cautious upon this article with his majesty's ministers; and I don't know that I ever mentioned it in any of those letters I wrote to Henry himself, except one, in

1605. which I made some reflexions upon the embassy to England, that were necessary to the subject I wrote upon : however, I earnestly intreated him to burn this letter, lest the same accident should happen to it as he knew had done to others.

WHAT his majesty had most reason to complain of in the affair of the deputies, was, that his intention of appointing them himself, in the manner we have just seen, being signified to the assembly, seven protestant provinces met together, and sent to consult Du-Plessis upon this resolution, a fault which Henry with good reason attributed to Constant and D'Aubigné. The last instance which was made by the protestants on this subject was, that the duration of the deputies service with his majesty should be regulated by them, and be expressed in the brevet of election by the king, or at least in the act of nomination : had this been granted, there would have been a necessity for renewing this ceremony every year, and for calling an assembly for that purpose. These very motives induced the king to refuse it, for which I had already prepared them. At length they received the brevet in the form it was in, but not without returning many times to the charge.

THE affair of the cautionary towns came next under consideration : although the term of eight years, expressed in the brevet of August 1598, given in consequence of the edict of Nantes, wanted yet a year of being expired, yet it was necessary to bring it upon the carpet this year, if we would avoid giving the protestant party a pretence for holding an assembly the next. It is certain, however, that it would not have been proposed at Châtelleraut, on any other terms than to have this matter left entirely to the king, without requiring a promise for three or four years, or a new brevet from his majesty, but that the assembly should be informed in the same way I have just mentioned, not only that they might expect every thing from Henry, but also that I had actually at that time in my possession, a brevet from his majesty for three years, and another for four : and it was upon this account, that the king found himself obliged to grant them a prolongation for four years. It may be alledged, that a year more or less was a very inconsiderable matter ; and indeed Henry had no other view in laying a stress upon it, than to accustom them not to obtain whatever they should take it into their heads to demand, and to be contented with those favours he voluntarily granted them : as for what remained, there was nothing more certain than what I had said to them in the beginning of my speech to the assembly with regard to those

those forts. Henry permitted me to inform the deputies, that it was at my solicitation he granted them this favour.

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THE two questions of greatest importance being decided, the assembly might be looked on as at an end; but, as there were alterations to be made in the brevets, of which I was the bearer, his majesty would also have an article added, by which he declared, that the first eight years were to commence from the day on which the edict of Nantes was registered in the parliament. Some time therefore was taken up in composing these two brevets, and sending them to Châtelleraut.

DURING this time, the affair of Orange made noise enough to afford a subject for public discourse. In order to restore this place to its lawful master the prince of Orange, it was necessary to withdraw Blaccons, who held it for the protestants; and here the king made use of Lesdiguières, but so unseasonably, that I believe all the difficulties which were found in the management of this affair, owed their rise to this choice: any one but Lesdiguières, whom Blaccons had reason to think his mortal enemy, might have easily effected it. Blaccons, who had long expected orders to leave Orange, wrote to me, that nothing could prevail upon him to neglect obeying his majesty's commands immediately, but the mortification and disgrace of being obliged to yield his post to a man who would make that ceremony an occasion of triumph over him. In my answer to this officer, I thought I was entitled to give him hopes that his majesty would alleviate the bitterness of this command; and I flattered myself, that if I had been at court, the affair would have been terminated otherwise; but Henry did not write to me concerning it till he had sent Bullion and Bellujon with his commands to Lesdiguières, which he informed me of in his letter, and desired I would send the necessary orders for carrying cannon to Orange. I suspected what had happened when I received this letter, and instantly acquainted the king with what I knew of Blaccons' sentiments. I advised, I even intreated him, to send only an exempt of his guards to Orange upon this occasion, without setting up Lesdiguières against the man he hated.

Hector de
La-Forêt de
Blaccons.

MY advice came too late; Lesdiguières, making use of the power the king had given him, listened to nothing but his hatred of Blaccons, and in an imperious manner signified his majesty's orders to the governor and inhabitants, adding of himself, that if he did not obey them, he would give the king notice of it immediately. In the mean time,

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he wrote to his majesty, on the 24th of July, that he need not be under any apprehensions, because he knew how to reduce the governor of Orange without raising any commotions in the province. May it not be said, that Lesdiguières was afraid he should not find resistance enough? Blacons, who did not expect such an insult, instantly dispatched two couriers, one after another, to the king, to assure him, that he was ready to resign the place to any person his majesty thought proper, although even he were a catholic. His views, by taking this step, were, to prevail upon the king to alter his resolution of sending Lesdiguières, by the advice of those whose interest with his majesty he relied upon, and to suspend Lesdiguières's march, who he did not doubt would be with him as soon as possible. Blacons had more enemies at court than friends; they thought this procedure shewed a strong disposition to rebellion, and they inspired Henry with the same opinion, which was certainly very kind and disinterested on their side,

THE king, however, notwithstanding all the violent counsels that were suggested to him, would not proceed suddenly to extremities with Blacons: he answered him by sending an exempt of his guards to him, who was a protestant, and three or four archers of the guard, who signified to him, that, till further orders, it was his majesty's pleasure he should put the place as a deposit into the hands of the exempt, and come himself to court, where he might depend upon receiving from his majesty the most honourable treatment, and all the satisfaction he could desire. Henry at the same time ordered Bullion to tell Lesdiguières, that if Blacons submitted to this last order, he was to stay peaceably at Grenoble, and not to have recourse to force, but in case the governor should refuse to obey: for which purpose, he sent him commissions to raise ten companies, consisting of one hundred men each; to make use likewise of five companies of Du-Bourg's regiment, and to increase them from sixty to two hundred men, and cannon in proportion. All these preparations were made in consequence of the courtiers persuading his majesty, that Blacons would not submit to his proposal. Lesdiguières, who had already sent the king word, that the cannon of his province of Dauphiny had no carriages, desired some might be sent to him; or rather, because that would take up too much time, that he should be furnished with cannon from the arsenal of Lyons, which might be easily sent down the Rhone. It was apparent, that he had no inclination to disfurnish his own fortresses. Accordingly the king wrote to me to send orders to the lieutenant-general of the artillery of Lyonnois and Dauphiny, conformable to the demands

mands of Lesdiguières. It must be confessed that the king, in his transactions with the protestants, took such measures as might make it appear to them, that he was wholly guided by justice and moderation. But I could not approve of these extraordinary preparations, nor this needless expence; therefore, though I paid all the respect I ought to do to the orders his majesty gave me, yet I thought it my duty to oppose the desires of Lesdiguières, especially in what related to the cannon of Lyons, which seemed to be much better in that city than in any one of Dauphiny.

It appears strange to me, that Henry should be so long without perceiving that Lesdiguières only sought to be authorised in pursuing, with the utmost rigour, a man whom he hated with inveteracy. He did many things of himself, as soon as he thought he had some appearance of justice on his side; so that the state of affairs was quite altered before his majesty's couriers arrived. He was already at the head of a body of troops, within two leagues of Orange, from whence he haughtily summoned Blacons to receive him into the city. Bullion, when he returned from Dauphiny, endeavoured to justify Lesdiguières for taking this precipitate step (to call it no worse) saying, that he did it with an intention to begin immediately making proper regulations in the castle, to disband part of the garrison, and send away some soldiers levied by the officers of the prince of Orange. It was not indeed surprising, that Lesdiguières should thus exceed his commission. Blacons no longer viewing him in any other light, than as an enemy who prosecuted his own particular quarrel with him, gave him such an answer as obliged him to retire in some disorder to Montelimart. Lesdiguières, fired with resentment at the disgrace this retreat brought upon him, observed no regard to truth in the letters he wrote to his majesty to inform him of all that had passed, but accused Blacons of every thing his rage could suggest. Blacons likewise sent a courier to his majesty, with complaints against Lesdiguières; he accused him with having for a long time sought to make himself master of Orange, by means of a correspondence he carried on with a minister named Maurice. The friends of Lesdiguières retorted this crime upon Blacons, which they said they could prove by a letter he had written to his brother-in-law, at the very time that he was making protestations of obedience to the king; and that while he sent a polite message to Lesdiguières, assuring him he was ready to receive him into the city, he was forming resolutions directly contrary. I would not answer for the truth of either of these accusations.

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HOWEVER that may be, the assembly of Châtelleraut was dissolved, while this dispute retarded the conclusion of the affair of Orange, the arrival of the two brevets, which his majesty had ordered Fresne to send me, gave great satisfaction to the assembly; they were dated August the 4th, 1605. it appeared there, that the king granted them to the protestants as a favour which ought to confirm them in the respect and fidelity they owed him. When I delivered them to the assembly, I declared that it was his majesty's pleasure they should break up, after first hearing from me the king's last intentions, that the people might be no longer kept in suspense in the provinces, where I was sensible the different reports concerning the result of the assembly, gave occasion for commotions like those when two parties are ready to come to blows. I enjoined the deputies, when they returned to their provinces, to give a sincere and candid representation of the manner in which the king and his ministers had acted and treated with them; and to avoid carefully that arrogant behaviour, and that propensity to slander, which they had shewn in the assembly of Gap. I made a recapitulation of all the king's orders and demands, and justified each. I prevented their composing, before they separated, a new memorial of demands; and, in the king's name, expressly forbid them to call any general assembly without permission: I told them, that his majesty would never refuse them that favour when the occasion required it; but I made them sensible, at the same time, that they must not expect them to be so frequent for the future as they had been. I forgot not to add, that Henry did not thereby intend to prejudice in any manner their right of holding their ordinary conferences and synods, confined merely to affairs of religion; and concluded with repeating my prohibition to them, to hold any correspondence with persons suspected by his majesty. I was entirely satisfied with the inclinations I perceived in them; and was not deceived in my conjecture, that the assembly would propose to send a deputation to his majesty, to thank him for the indulgence he had shewn them, and to assure him of their inviolable respect. They were desirous of first knowing, whether this step would be agreeable to his majesty; and the answer they received being such as they had hoped for, the deputies appointed for that purpose set out for Paris to execute their commission.

I LEFT Châtelleraut the same day that the assembly broke up, the king having ordered Sillery to acquaint me that I might do so; and often expressed his wishes for my return, and how necessary my presence

fence was to him in the affairs of his council. This prince would write to me once more, though it was only to praise and thank me for the service which he said I had done him. But however solicitous he appeared for my return, yet he gave me permission to visit my estate of Berry, which I did not then think proper to do, because I would not accumulate more business than I was able to dispatch. Such was the issue of the assembly, which had engrossed the attention of the whole kingdom. When I strictly examined my own sentiments concerning it, I found, that the despair into which my proceedings there had thrown some of my brethren, did not interrupt the joy I felt for my success; because I was convinced, that I had more effectually served my religion and them by moderate and peaceable measures, than they could have done by their blind and impetuous zeal. Du-Plessis might possibly have felt the force of these reasonings in the letter I wrote to him; though my principal view by writing was to shew him his errors. He justified himself in a very studied letter, which he likewise sent to the king, along with mine, to shew that he had not left one of the heads of my accusation unanswered and uneffaced.

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I WENT immediately to give an account of my conduct to the king. His majesty when he left Monceaux, where he had some slight fits of the gout, had returned to Paris the latter end of July, and from thence went to Saint-Germain to pass the beginning of August; he was there afflicted with a defluxion which fell upon his cheek and teeth, but was cured immediately by having his gums lanced: this indisposition obliged him to drink the waters and observe an exact regimen, which was his most effectual remedy. I found him at Fontainebleau, whither he had come from Saint-Germain; he embraced me twice with great tenderness, and permitted my secretaries and all my retinue to pay their respects to him; and after once more folding me in his arms, he led me into the long gallery of the garden of pines, where we had a conversation which lasted two hours.

HIS majesty began it by informing me of all the interesting news he had received from foreign countries, and afterwards of every thing that had passed during my absence, either in the council, in the affairs of the finances, or in the court where his domestic quarrels, which were resumed with more violence than ever, made him often wish, he said, that I had been with him. He questioned me, in my turn, upon several particulars of my journey, especially concerning the dispositions the protestant churches and some of the heads of the party whom he named to

1605. to me were in, as I might now have a full knowledge of them. I gave him great joy by the proofs I brought him of a voluntary submission from those persons, which, in all the rest, secured to him an unavoidable obedience : I made it plain to him that Lesdiguières, whose troops, forts, money, and capacity, were greatly exalted, who disturbed the tranquillity of his master, through a fear that his equivocal conduct would terminate in open rebellion, was nevertheless so weak in every respect, that if his majesty, with an army only of six thousand men, marched directly to him without stopping at any place, he would drive him immediately to his last intrenchment, where nothing could prevent his falling into his hands. At present it was not proper to proceed to such extremities with Lesdiguières, as he had not yet given sufficient cause for it. I represented to the king, that it was now time and of the utmost consequence for the extinction of the rebellion, to undertake something against the duke of Bouillon, by using only the precaution of not putting protestant lieutenants into his towns, in the room of those who were leaving them ; I engaged my word, that there was not one of those places which would give us the trouble to batter it with our cannon.

THESE considerations determined Henry, although still with a little difficulty, to defer no longer his progress into the southern provinces of France, which has already been mentioned. His two motives for this journey, and for taking his rout through Auvergne and Limosin, were to seize all the towns belonging to the duke of Bouillon, and make such severe examples of those who were convicted of conspiring against the state, as should stifle, for the future, all seeds of rebellion. For the first, he sent commissions to the duke of Epemon for levying three thousand foot ; he added a like number to his regiment of guards, and gave orders that a squadron of eight or nine hundred disciplined companies of horse, as well gendarmes as light-horse, should be got ready to accompany him : for the second, he proposed to hold an extraordinary court, the arrets of which he designed to have published, and executed by a chamber of justice which he carried along with him, that nothing might retard the course of his justice. These terrible preparations were indeed absolutely necessary in the provinces, where it seemed as if the contagious air of civil broils was concentrated, when it was entirely dissipated every where else : this step likewise was necessary to bring the business of Orange to a conclusion ; nor could it be made in a more favourable time, the affairs of Flanders and England affording him leisure this year, but which could not be of long duration.

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I OBSERVED to the king, that since it was necessary this journey should be ended before the month of October was expired, it ought not to be delayed a moment longer. Henry still thought I pressed him too much: however, at length he resolved upon every thing. It was agreed between us, that his majesty should march along the Loire with his troops both horse and foot, while I, with a train of artillery consisting of two cannons, two culverins, and two demi-culverins, should march by Montrond, which is the direct road. I left to Henry's directions every thing that related to the troops, and returned myself to Paris, to settle the affairs of the council with all possible expedition, and to name the members of the chamber *Des grand jours*, whom it was necessary to send away first.

An extraordinary sessions called by virtue of the king's commission or letters patents.

AT court, and in the council, it was supposed this journey would terminate in the same manner as that to Provence had done the year before. The orders which were given for so sudden a departure, in a season still farther advanced, furnished the indolent and sensual courtiers with a thousand new arguments against it; but when they saw that Henry was inflexible, they prepared to follow him, often cursing the man whom they supposed had given him the council: but it threw the duke of Bouillon's partisans into the utmost consternation, who had not, as may be easily imagined, used any endeavours to divert the storm. La-Chapelle-Biron*, and Giverfac, who were most faithfully devoted to him, as having received the most Spanish gold, intreated the sieur de Fouillac† to go to court, and assure his majesty that they were ready to give him any testimony of their obedience which he should require: it was the people of Turenne only who made any shew of resistance; Rignac‡ and Bassignac threw themselves into that place, provided it with ammunition, and lodged all the artillery in it upon the plat-forms. These advices were sent his majesty by Fouillac and Baumeville, who dispatched the senechal de Brive with them; but all this was executed with so much terror and dismay, that the king, who had given d'Epemon and Roissy|| orders to advance thither before him with their troops, did not think it necessary to strengthen them with the regiment of guards, as he had at first intended.

* Charles de Charbonnieres, sieur of La-Chapelle-Biron; Mark de Cuignac, sieur of Giverfac.

† Raimund de Sognac, sieur de Fouillac.

‡ Peter de Rignac; Gideon de Bassignac or Vassignac.

|| John-James de Mesmes, lord of Roissy.

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FOUSSAC gave also some other informations, conformable to what had been said by Rodelle, concerning the state of the revolt in the provinces of Limosin, Perigord, and Quercy; and by him it was discovered, that the true cause why a great many gentlemen did not come and throw themselves at his majesty's feet, as they had intended, was, that l'Aubagnac had been sent from Sedan, to dissuade them from taking that step; and that many of them had also lately received considerable sums of Spanish money which had been distributed among them by Guienne. The duke of Bouillon, in whose name this money was given, recommended it to them, at the same time, not to be discouraged or alarmed at the preparations which were making against them, since he engaged his word to make things take another turn before October; and that his friends (those were his terms) should see him sooner than they hoped, and his enemies sooner than they desired: these sounding words effectually imposed upon them. Fousfac, however, assured the king, that there had not come more than ten or twelve thousand crowns from Spain; but Bouillon always supplying the want of money with confidence, had given them to understand, that this small sum was sent to them to be distributed amongst their subaltern friends, and that others far more considerable were reserved for them: they were simple enough to believe him, and after this no longer talked of soliciting for a pardon. The king ordered two hundred crowns to be given to Fousfac for the expences of his journey, and sent him back to continue on the spot.

HE left Paris himself on the 15th or 16th of September *, escorted by the regiment of guards, and the squadron I have already mentioned, and began his march towards Orleans, while I took the rout before agreed on. He had not got farther than Hallier, before he saw the good effects of his journey: two gentlemen of Quercy named Causse and Brigantin, came to meet him at this place to implore a pardon for themselves, and a hundred and twenty other gentlemen; and that they might in some degree merit it, they offered to discover, in a court of justice, all that they knew of Bouillon's proceedings, and maintain the truth of their depositions at the points of their swords, and at the expence of their blood. These two deputies revealed likewise all the

* In regard to this journey of Henry IV. to the Limosin, see De Thou, b. 24. the *Mercur* François, anno. 1605, and

the original of a letter wrote by Henry IV. to M. de Rosny. *Lettres de Henry le Grand.*

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plots which had been carried on by Rignac and Bassignac, in the duke of Bouillon's favour; among others that of seizing Ville-neuve in Agénois, for which Bouillon had not the least plausible pretence. It being at this place that his majesty had first received notice of the attempts made by d'Entragues, to deliver the count of Auvergne from his confinement in the Bastile, as I have related in order; he desired me to meet him at Orleans, which he expected to reach the next day, being Saturday September the 24th, advising me to send the artillery in the mean time to Argenton, through which place he proposed to pass. These orders, however, were not executed, it being impossible for me to go to Orleans: his majesty approved of my reasons; and I gave him in writing the advice he demanded of me, which was conformable to those measures I had always solicited him to pursue with regard to d'Entragues.

HENRY arrived at Orleans on the appointed day, and left that city on Monday the 26th of September: he avoided the road through Berry and Sologne, on account of the scarcity of provisions in that barren country, and the diseases which he was told prevailed there; he therefore marched towards Blois, and from thence to Montrichard, again appointing a rendezvous with me at Loches, expressing an earnest desire to confer with me personally upon the present state of affairs. Hitherto he had not received any marks of submission from the duke of Bouillon; on the contrary, the resistance of Rignac and Bassignac in Turenne, and Sinceraï was confirmed. From Metz he had advices, that Bouillon would have assistance from another quarter; the elector palatine, it was said, had, upon the report of the king's expedition, sent for his colonels and captains, and the governor of Luxemburg was making preparations and assembling forces. D'Epernon incessantly pressed the king to advance, and demanded, with some kind of displeasure, officers and provisions for the recruits, which he said he had raised with great difficulty. His majesty referred this business to me, desiring that I would give proper directions thereupon to D'Eseures, or the other officers and inhabitants of those places: and with regard to Bouillon, he held himself prepared for resistance, although he saw no appearance of it hitherto.

IN effect, this prince had scarce reached Blois, before he received a courier from the duke of Bouillon, who brought him a letter dated from Sedan, September the 20th, in which, after making his usual protestations of grief for having offended his majesty, and of his intentions to

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repair his fault at the price of his blood, he declared, that he had never entertained the least thought of disobeying his orders, or resisting his person; that he had given an absolute command to his lieutenants to receive him in all his cities and castles, a needless order, he added, since there was not one person belonging to him who did not look upon his majesty as his sovereign master; that he desired nothing more ardently than to have brought him the keys himself, and, with the utmost humility, implore to be again received into his favour. The king appeared satisfied with this procedure of Bouillon: however, he represented to him, that he ought to have sent Rignac and Bassignac, against whom such heavy crimes were alleged, to have justified their conduct personally. Blanchard was the man whom Henry was most desirous of seeing, as there was no person in the world who had a greater share of Bouillon's confidence, he being his steward, or was better acquainted with the steps of the whole party; but he did not appear: Henry therefore thought he ought not to discontinue his march, at least till he came to Limoges, that he might see how far the duke of Bouillon's lieutenants would carry their obedience. However, Blanchard arrived at Blois before his majesty left that city; and what added to the king's satisfaction, he came voluntarily, and with an intention to obtain his pardon by making a faithful confession of all he knew.

IN effect Blanchard unfolded the whole mystery of the plot; he acknowledged, that, seconding with all his power the bad intentions of the duke his master, he had been always obliged to have recourse to the mean artifice of exaggerating facts, enlarging views, and making promises a thousand times greater than he well knew could ever be performed: so that the execution of their designs had always been as remote, as they had affected to say it was near. Blanchard's deposition appeared to his majesty to be of such consequence, that he ordered him to give it him in writing: and now he began to be convinced of the justness of my opinion, which he had so long opposed, namely, that the duke of Bouillon's party made all this noise, only because they could do nothing more. Notwithstanding this, Henry would neither stop nor lay down his arms, till his will was complied with without any restriction. He remembered to have heard it said among the protestants, that the places the duke of Bouillon possessed did not belong to him, but to the whole party, having been given as cautionary towns, and held as such by officers of the reformed religion: he feared therefore that he might make use of this pretence to keep them, and thought it the securest way not to disband his troops, till Villepion, whom he had

appointed to take possession of Turenne in his name, had been received into that capital of Bouillon's. I had written to La^eCaillaudiere that he might disband the cavalry: his majesty made me revoke this order, and in the beginning of October, left Blois and proceeded to Tours, having again altered his design of marching through Montrichard and Loches.

THE conveniency of the river and castle of Plessis, determined the queen, who had attended his majesty to Blois, to go as far as Tours with him. The king, when he informed me of this alteration in his march, sent me word that, as soon as this princess had left him to return to Paris, he would continue his rout through La-Haye as far as Châtelleraut, where I had appointed to meet him. In proportion as his majesty advanced, all difficulties fell before him: Villepion was received without the least disturbance into Turenne; and before Henry reached Limoges, all the other towns depending on the duke of Bouillon, were yielded in the same manner to the officers his majesty sent thither to represent his person. All this was conformable to the duke's example, who continued to declare loudly, that he had no hand in the commotions of the province, and that he had been accused through mere calumny. Bassignac distinguished himself by his obstinacy; for, cutting his beard, and disguising himself, he fled through Geneva to Sedan.

NOTHING more remaining to be done by arms, the chamber *des grand jours* began the exercise of its office: the king would not stay for the conclusion; he was weary of Limoges, after a stay of eight days there, and rode post to Paris. He left me in this province, invested with his authority, as well in criminal matters as for disbanding the troops, which kept me ten days after him. We went back to the source of the rebellion, by endeavouring to discover the first authors of it; and so successful were our inquiries, and the effects of them, that all remained peaceable for the future. It was thought sufficient to behead ten or twelve of the most active of the rebels, among whom, those of greatest note, were the two Luquisses, gentlemen of Languedoc, who have been already mentioned; and * Meirargues, a kinsman of the

* Lewis d'Alagon, or rather Lagonia, baron of Meirargues, was arrested at Paris, in the monastery of Saint-Germain, together with the Spanish ambassador's secretary, and beheaded on the 19th of Decem-

ber; his body was quartered, and fixed over the principal gates of the city, and his head was carried to Marseilles, where it was fastened on the head of a pike over the chief gate. The king ordered the Spanish

1605. Joyeuse's; the first for having undertaken to deliver up Narbonne to the Spaniards, and the latter Marseilles. I have no reason to doubt, but, that after these examples of rigour, the hatred of the protestants against me was wound up to its utmost pitch. I cannot but complain of this unjust prejudice, which however did not extend to all: Theodore Beza was my friend, and his approbation alone was sufficient to comfort me for the causeless malice of a thousand others.

THIS venerable old man, who exercised the function of a minister at Geneva, was seized with an illness towards the latter end of this year, in the eighty-seventh year of his age; his distemper, which before the eclipse* of the sun, which has rendered this year memorable, was but very slight, grew fatal from that moment, and a few days after put a period to his life: he preserved, till the last moment, the full force and vigour of his mind, in a body weakened by infirmities and exhausted by age; he ordered his attendants to lift him out of his bed, and then, with the utmost fervour, he offered up his prayers to God, and in the most earnest and pathetic manner, exhorted all those who were present to a performance of the duties of religion and holiness; after which, he was again laid in bed, where he expired without pain, nature being quite worn out in him: he did not forget me in his last moments; and thinking that he owed me some acknowledgment for the visit I paid him at Geneva, and the service I did him, when I presented him to his majesty at the head of the other deputies from his city, he desired Deodati to present a book to me in his name, intitled, *The treasure of piety*; this was the New Testament, translated by him,

secretary to be set at liberty, without waiting for the determination of the question, at that time strongly debated, whether it is right to give up to the course of justice, an ambassador, resident, or any other foreign minister, who violates the law of nations. MSS. Royaux, 8477. See also the discussion of this question, and Henry IV's discourse on this occasion to the Spanish ambassador, Mem. de Nevers, vol. II. p. 858. Matthieu, vol. II. book iii. p. 689. and other historians.

† This eclipse happened on the 2d of October, according to M. de Thou, and on the 3d, according to the *Mercurie François*, at one o'clock in the afternoon; it continued two hours, and for half an hour it was

as dark as possible: Le Grain says, that during an hour and an half, one could not, without difficulty, read or write without a candle. L'Etoile was freer than M. de Sully from the popular prejudices, in regard to eclipses: "Many strange maladies of different kinds, says he, raged in Paris at that time; and, together with the eclipse, which happened on the 2d of this month, eclipsed many persons who have never been seen since: dysenteries, especially, were very dangerous and mortal to those who happened to be attacked by them, and more in other places than at Paris; few of them escaping." Anno 1605. The same author says, that Beza died the day after the eclipse.

with

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with notes, which, together with the other versions, both antient and modern, formed a complete work: this he inscribed to me, and in the épistle dedicatory gave free scope to the favourable sentiments he entertained of me. Deodati punctually performed his last commands, and in the month of November sent me the book, with a letter, from whence these circumstances are taken.

I SHALL conclude my relation of his majesty's journey with that of a quarrel which happened between me and the count of Soissons, followed by another with the duke d'Epemon. The count having taken offence at something which the king had done or said to him when he left Paris, thought proper to revenge himself upon me. I had, as has been observed before, left my train of artillery, to take the direct road to Limoges, that I might meet his majesty at Châtelleraut. The count of Soissons ordered his harbinger to go to the quarter-masters, who were then employed in marking out the king's lodgment, and ask them which was reserved for me, and to take possession of it for him, in spite of all opposition. This was not so easy to be done as said. A great number of gentlemen of the province, who knew the rights of a governor as well as myself, being present when the count's harbinger was preparing to execute his orders, they prevented him, without even acquainting me with what they had done. The count did not fail to complain to the king of this indignity, which he said his honour was concerned to resent; and, as an aggravation, added, that I had caused his harbinger to be beaten.

THE king, who knew his humour, gave him but little satisfaction; but the count made so much noise, and asserted the fact so positively, that Henry sent D'Escures to me to know the truth. All I knew of the matter, which I told him, was, that upon receiving information of what was doing, I went to the place destined for my quarters, where I found above fifty Poitevin gentlemen, who all together exclaiming against the unjustifiable procedure of the count's harbinger, had made use of threats to prevent his going farther. The count of Soissons still insisted, that it was a designed insult upon him, and demanded justice of the king. He found none to take his part; and Henry, by all the arguments he could think of, endeavoured to convince him that his complaint was groundless: he told him, that all governors have a right in their provinces to take place of every one but the king; and that I, as grand master, had the additional right of claiming the next quarters to the king, when he marched in the body of the
army;

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army; therefore it could be no encroachment to have only part of those quarters, when the whole is at the disposal of the grand master; no one pretending any right, or fixing on any part of it for himself, without my permission; and for this reason the quarter-master had put to mine the accustomed mark which secures his to the king; these are the words, *For the king*: the count of Soisson's harbinger therefore ought to have abstained through respect.

NONE of these reasons having any weight with the count of Soissons, there was a necessity that Henry should think of some expedient to satisfy us both; and this expedient was, that when I came, as usual, to pay my respects to the king, I should make my compliments likewise to the count, and offer him, through mere politeness, my quarters; which the count, returning my civility, should refuse: this was accordingly done, but it was on my part only; for the count, making use of a mean artifice, from whence he afterwards derived a still meaner occasion for boast, suffered me to make all these advances, without any return on his side, and took possession of my quarters, because I could not decently unsay what I had said. But this joy, and the railleries which enhanced it, lasted no longer than till the next day.

As he was passing through the street where I lodged, followed only by two gentlemen (for he was going to hunt along with his majesty) he found the street filled with gentlemen, to the number of two hundred, who were waiting till I came out to mount my horse, and who, as soon as they saw him at a distance, crowded together, as if for diversion, so close, that they left no passage for the count; and his equerry, not being able to open him one, was obliged to cry out, *Make way, gentlemen, make way for monsieur the count*: but they, raising their voices all together, talked so loud, and so confusedly, that the equerry could not make himself heard; some of them muttering at the same time, that it was never known that a governor of a province was dispossessed of his lodgings in a place where he represented the king's person. The count was obliged to wait a quarter of an hour before he could get room to pass. And for a farther aggravation of his misfortune, not one of these gentlemen saluted him. This was a new subject for complaint to the king. His majesty told him, he was sorry for what had happened, but could do nothing for him, since he must not expect that, in complaisance to him, he would make enquiries among four or five hundred gentlemen for the persons who offended him, when he
could

could point out no particular man; they at the same time supposing they had some right to take this revenge upon him, for an insult injurious to them all. 1605.

THE count of Soissons found no one to take part in his resentment but the duke of Epernon, who was himself then violently enraged against me on the following occasion: the Rochellers hearing that his majesty would pass near their city in his march, sent a deputation to him of their chiefest citizens, as a mark of their gratitude and respect. I was the person to whom they applied; therefore the king ordered me to conduct them to audience, which he gave them in the presence of the whole court: they told his majesty they were come to intreat he would honour them with his presence in their city, since he was so near it; assuring him, that although he was at the head of an army of catholics, he should not be received with less respect and submission, than when he came formerly at the head of the protestant troops; and that if their gates were not wide enough to admit him and his train, they would throw down three hundred fathoms of their wall, since his repeated bounties enabled them to rebuild it. They then presented the keys to him, with such sincere expressions of joy and affection, that the king was melted even to tears, embraced them thrice, and afterwards, entering into a familiar conversation with them on the times past, assured them, that in him they might always depend upon finding a protector of their liberty, and a zealous preserver of their privileges.

As I was going away at the conclusion of this ceremony, I met the duke of Epernon, who coming to wait upon the king, asked me what was doing? and I, without reflecting upon his question, answered it directly: but I was surpris'd to see, that at the recital I made him, his countenance was overspread with rage and disdain; and, a moment after, to hear him ask me, haughtily, whether I assumed any right in the government of Rochelle? and by what claim I took upon myself to present the deputies from that city to the king? I never thought it any meanness to give my friends satisfaction, in cases wherein my conduct might appear doubtful to them; I therefore told him, that it was in the quality of an antient friend of that city, and by his majesty's command, that I had presented the deputies to him. He replied, with the same emotion as at first, that Rochelle being comprehended in his patent for governor, the king, the Rochellers, and I, had equally injured him. I could not help telling him, that the

1605. Rochellers would look upon his pretensions as very singular, but that it was from them, or rather from the king, that he was to desire an explanation and not from me, since I had only acted by his majesty's orders, and without any intention to encroach upon the rights of other persons.

SAYING this, I quitted him coolly, and he went to Henry to tell him the cause of his disgust: he returned more dissatisfied than he went, and all the resource he had was to mingle his grievances and complaints with those of the count. The malicious things they said of me on this occasion, which I had convincing proofs of, was the cause that I afterwards took D'Ornano's part in a quarrel which happened between him and d'Epemon, during the king's stay at Limoges. This increased d'Epemon's rage, and a third disgust which he received from me completed it: he demanded assignments for the payment of the ammunition bread, furnished by the cities and large towns for the soldiers he had levied. I thought it my duty to acquaint the king before I complied with this request, who, knowing as well as myself that this money would remain in d'Epemon's purse, instead of being delivered to those to whom it belonged, gave me orders to refuse him. This was the rock upon which our reconciliation, our mutual promises of friendship, and those connexions which had been capable of giving umbrage to the king, were all split and destroyed.

AT my return from Limoges, I went to give his majesty an account of the use I had made of that authority he had confided in me: we had now a longer conversation together, than at my return from Châtelleraut, and upon the very same subject, policy and the quarrels at court. I found him this time also at Fontainebleau, whither he had come to pass the month of October and part of November; the queen was there also: the king and she met as they entered the court, she in her litter, and he on horseback, for he had rode post. He lost La-Rivière, his first physician there, whom he greatly regreted: he gave his post to Du-Laurens*, who was already first physician to the queen, and looked out for another for that princess. I did not stay long at

* Andrew Du-Laurens was the fourth principal physician, whose death Henry IV. had seen since his accession to the crown; and as he also died four years afterwards, Petit a physician of Gien, who succeeded him, was the fifth. M. de Sully being in-

treated to procure Du-Laurens's office for Turquet, one of the physicians ordinary to the king, who was a protestant, answered, "I have taken an oath never to recommend either a physician or a cook to the king."

Fontainebleau; a thousand different affairs called me to Paris, where Henry had consideration enough to leave me a long time, without commanding my attendance on him. 1605.

I HAVE yet mentioned but some part of those affairs queen Margaret had to communicate to me, in our interview at Cercote. As she proposed to quit her castle at Usson and reside in Paris, she was desirous of having my advice upon this occasion, and to know if she should be well received at court; whither it was necessary she should go, to prove that she did nothing without his majesty's consent. I assured her, that their majesties would receive her with the utmost respect; for I was well acquainted with their sentiments in regard to her. A bare assurance would not satisfy her; she insisted upon my engaging my word as a security, which I did without any hesitation; and she, on her side, promised to be governed wholly by my advice. After these mutual engagements, we separated; I took the road to Châtelleraut, and Margaret that of the castle of Madrid, where she intended to lodge.

HENRY, besides the inclination he had to oblige this princess, who well deserved that he should contribute to her satisfaction, had another reason for consenting that she should leave Usson*. He was extremely desirous of having this old castle in his own possession, as its situation, in a very suspected country, might make it one day a convenient retreat for the rebels, as the castle of Carlat had been. The king proposed to throw down this castle if it should be judged not worth preserving; for this purpose, he ordered me to send a faithful and intelligent commissary to the castle of Usson as soon as queen Margaret had left it, and to give him an exact information of the condition it was in at present, but that he should not discover with what intention he went. However, La-Varenne, coming soon after from queen Margaret, declared to Henry, that it would give her great trouble, if the castle of Usson was demolished so soon after her departure; upon which the king wrote to me to defer sending the commissary thither till he had seen that princess. This second order would have come too late, if happily the person whom I had resolved to employ, and who was one

* She had lived there near twenty years. On her leaving Agen, from whence she made her escape disguised in the habit of an ordinary citizen, riding behind Lignerac, she went to live at Carlat, a castle belonging to a gentleman called Martas. The

marquis de Canillac carried her off from this castle, and shut her up in the castle of Usson, which place pleased her so much that she fixed her abode there, though she was left at liberty to quit it whenever she thought proper.

1655. of the best engineers in the whole body of the artillery, had not been indisposed, which obliged him to put off his journey for some days.

THE arrival of queen Margaret, and the kind reception Henry prepared to give her, occasioned some of those idle slanders which the foolish populace are so fond of propagating. The wisest way being to seem ignorant of them, the king made no alterations in those honours he was resolved to pay her. As soon as she came to Paris, he sent M. de Vendôme and Roquelaure, to pay his compliments to her, till he could visit her in person, for he was then at Monceaux: the queen also sent Châteauevieux in her name to this princess. On the 26th of July, Henry went in person to visit her, to Bois de Boulogne *, where she then was, having only passed through Paris. His majesty went

* From thence she went to live in the palace of Sens near the Ave-Mary; she afterwards hired a palace in the suburb of Saint-Germain opposite to the Louvre, where she continued till her death. This princess has been so much abused in the libels of that time, that one might be induced to accuse M. de Sully of partiality, in the praise he every where bestows on her in his memoirs, if his testimony were not confirmed by our best historians. The author of *L'Histoire de la mere & du fils*, on their authority, speaks of her in the following manner. "Her degradation in point of rank, was so amply made up by her goodness and the royal virtues she possessed, as to render her still greatly respected. Like a true heiress of the illustrious house of Valois, she never bestowed a gift on any one, without making an apology for giving so little; she was the refuge of men of letters, loved to hear them talk, her table was constantly surrounded with them, and she learned so much from conversing with them, that she spoke better than any woman of her time, and wrote more correctly than most persons of her sex are capable of doing. In short, as charity is the queen of all virtues, this great princess crowned hers by giving alms, which she did with so liberal a hand to all who stood in need of them, that there was not a religious house in Paris which did not feel the

effects of her bounty, nor one poor person who had recourse to her that did not meet with relief; therefore God out of his mercy repaid her with usury, for that which she shewed to his people, giving her grace to make a truly christian end." &c. vol. I. p. 326. This is surely sufficient to compensate for a small number of levities and human weaknesses, which are the utmost of what this princess could ever be charged with. If any one is desirous of seeing further what has been written for or against her on this head, let him read messieurs De Thou, Dupleix, Mezerai, father Daniel, father Hilarion de Coste's elogium of illustrious ladies, Bassompierre, M. Bayle's dictionary under the word *Uston*, and an infinity of other writers. She died on the 27th of March 1615, at her palace in the Faubourg-Saint-Germain, which has since been demolished; she was interred in the church of the reformed Augustins, since called the Little Augustins, which had been founded by her. "She was greatly regretted," says the Memoirs of the Regency of Mary de Medicis, "being a princess abounding in goodness of heart, eagerly fond of the welfare and repose of the state, who did no harm to any one besides herself." These few words, I apprehend, are sufficient to give us the perfect idea we ought to form of her character, and sufficiently agree with what M. de Sully says of her.

at seven o'clock in the evening, and returned at ten. This interview passed with equal satisfaction on both sides. The king spoke of the castle of Usson to this princess: she consented to what he proposed; and, in that whole affair, he never did any thing without first knowing whether it would be agreeable to her. On the 28th of the same month she came to Paris, to pay her respects to the queen, who came to the Louvre to receive her: she afterwards, on the 4th of August, went to Saint-Germain to see the Dauphin, and staid there four or five days with their majesties. Henry had no greater pleasure than the company of his children, as his frequent journeys to Saint-Germain sufficiently proved. Queen Margaret returned to Bois de Boulogne on the 11th of the same month, greatly affected with their majesties obliging behaviour to her.

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By the orders which she gave to her officers who remained at Usson, Barenton, who was sent thither by his majesty, found no opposition, and was put in immediate possession of the castle. He drew up a memorial of the state in which he found it, and brought it to the king, who, persisting in his resolution of disantling this castle, ordered me to send an engineer or commissary of artillery there as soon as possible for that purpose. I was commissioned to thank queen Margaret in his name, for the cheerfulness with which she had made this sacrifice, and to pay her the full value of all the stores and ammunition which were found at Usson, which Margaret had destined for the payment of the garrison she maintained there; if that princess did not rather chuse to give her soldiers these stores and provisions themselves.

I SHALL conclude the memoirs of the present year with an article, which I am already certain will have the approbation of all just and sensible persons; and for which I am also as secure of their acknowledgments. In all the principal cities of the kingdom, especially those which have arsenals and academies, there are also for the young nobility schools, in which are taught all kinds of sports and exercises, as well military, as those designed merely to form a graceful carriage, and give strength and activity to the limbs: and these exercises are no where more carefully cultivated than at Paris, where the spacious courts of the arsenal, destined to this use, are full almost every hour in the day. I was always of the same opinion as Henry concerning these exercises: he often asserted, that they were the most solid foundation, not only of discipline and other military virtues, but also of those noble sentiments, and that elevation of mind, which give one nation the pre-eminence

over

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over every other. I used to be present at them myself, when I could steal a moment from business, as well through the taste I had for such amusements, as because I thought my presence would excite a laudable emulation amongst the youth.

ONE afternoon in carnival time, when these sports were most frequent, I left my closet to shew myself to this assembly of young men, and came very seasonably to prevent the consequences of two quarrels, which, from that mistaken notion of honour to which France has made herself a slave, were likely to have been very fatal. These quarrels had taken their rise from a trifle, as it generally happens with the greatest part of those which have been followed by the most bloody catastrophes; but the king (I am grieved to say it) took so little care to enforce the observation of the edicts published by some of his predecessors, against that barbarous custom of duelling, that every day, and for the slightest occasions, some blood was shed.

I THOUGHT it my duty to endeavour to convince these young men who crouded about me, of the error they were in with regard to true valour; "It is, said I to them, in fields of war, and in actions which have the service of our country in view, that courage is permitted to be shown; that which arms us against our friends, or countrymen, in contempt of all laws, as well divine as human, is but a brutal fierceness, madness and real pusillanimity." I perceived, that the moral I endeavoured to inculcate appeared very strange to these young men, who were carried away by the heat of blood and ardour of youth: one of them, who, it was apparent, sought to give himself consequence with his fellows, replied, that princes having at all times permitted, nay authorised duels, they had passed into a custom, which holds the place of a law.

I CONTENTED myself for the present with making the youth sensible that he supported his argument upon false and erroneous principles, and with preventing the challenge from proceeding any further; but as soon as I retired, I gave free course to my reflexions upon the singularity of an abuse, unknown to the most polished, and at the same time bravest people. These reflexions, when thrown upon paper, composed a kind of memorial, which I thought it my duty to present to the king.

DUELS, it is true, are of long standing in France, and indeed in Europe, but in that part only that has been overwhelmed by barbarians, from whose time this hateful custom takes its date, and appears therefore to be derived from them; and if histories of times more remote, such as that of the emperor Otho the first, and that of the divorce of Lothario, gives some instances of single combat, they may be opposed by prohibitions of equal antiquity, issued out by the power of the church, as that of the council of Valentia in 855, or by temporal authority. We have in France a very ancient edict, which forbids them in all civil causes, and in criminal causes limits them to five cases; high treason, rape, house-burning, murder, and nightly thefts. Saint Lewis* afterwards took away all restriction; and when Philip the IVth, his grandson, seemed to restore them, 1303, in charges of state crimes, rapes, and house-burning, to which he reduced them, he was incited only by a motive at once deserving praise and censure; the hope of abolishing insensibly this custom of bloodshed, which had gathered strength in his time, by confining it to these rare cases set down in a positive law: to make this more evident, he forbade all manner of persons to allow them, by receiving what was called pledges of battle, and declared that right reserved to himself alone.

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To shew, by explaining the difference between the ancient duels and those of our time, what a number of nameless abuses have crept into a practice, which itself was from its first original a corruption, it will be sufficient to lay down the circumstances and formalities which were observed in those times.

In the first place, no body, however offended, might take vengeance in his own right; and as it is now practised in the first emotion of caprice and passion, and much less in mere bravado, which, in my opinion, is of all things the most contrary to the laws of society. They had their judges, before whom he that thought himself injured in his honour, was to give an account of the wrong suffered, and demand permission to prove, in the way of arms, that he did not lay upon his

* On the subject of these edicts of Saint Lewis and Philip the fair, as also of the origin, manner, and whatever has relation to single combats, consult the writers who treat of it; such as Paul de Montboucher sieur de la Rivaudiere, in his Treatise on the ceremonies and laws of challenges and

single combats, &c. in 1608; John Savaron sieur of Villars, in his Treatise against duels, with the edict of Philip the fair, in 1610; Brantôme, in the tenth volume of his Memoirs, intitled Touching Duels; D'Audiguier, Du-Plex, Ruault, Basnage, &c. and many other Italian

1605. enemy a false accusation. It was then considered as shameful to desire blood for blood. The judge, who was commonly the lord of the place, made the person accused, appear likewise before him ; and never allowed the decision of battle, which was demanded by throwing a glove, or some other pledge upon the ground, but when he could get no other proof either of guilt or innocence.

THE pledges were received, and the judge deferred the decision of the quarrel to the end of two months, during the first of which the two enemies were delivered each of them to common friends, upon security for their forthcoming : their friends endeavoured by all sorts of means to discover the person criminal, and to give him a sense of the injustice of maintaining a falsehood, from which he could expect nothing but the loss of his reputation, of his life, and of his soul ; for they were persuaded, with the utmost degree of certainty, that heaven always gave the victory to the right cause ; and therefore a duel, in their opinion, was an action of which the event could be determined by no human power. When the two months were expired, the two rivals were put into a close prison, and committed to the ecclesiastics, who employed every motive to make them change their design. If, after all this, they still persisted, a day was at last fixed to end their quarrel.

WHEN the day was come, the two champions were brought fasting in the morning before the same judge, who obliged both of them to declare upon oath that they said the truth, after which they suffered them to eat ; they were then armed in his presence, the kind of arms being likewise settled : four seconds, chosen with the same ceremonies, saw them undressed, and anointed all over the body with oil, and saw their beards and hair cut close. They were then conducted into an inclosed ground, and guarded by armed men, having been made to repeat, for the last time, their assertions and accusations, to see if they persisted in them without alterations. They were not even then suffered to advance to the combat : that moment their seconds joined them at the two ends of the field for another ceremony, which of itself was enough to make their weapons drop from their hands, at least if there had been any friendship between them. Their seconds made them kneel down in this place facing each other ; they made them join hands, with the fingers of one put between the fingers of the other ; they demanded justice from one another, and were conjured on each side not to support a falsity ; they solemnly promised to act upon terms of honour, and not to aim at the victory by fraud and enchantment. The seconds examined

examined their arms piece by piece, to see that nothing was wanting, and then conducted them to the two ends of the lists, where they made them say their prayers and make their confession; then asking each of them whether he had any message to send to his adversary, they suffered them to fall to, which they did at the signal of the herald, who cried from without the lists, *Let the brave combatants go.* After this, it is true, they fought without mercy, and the vanquished, dead or alive, incurred all the infamy of the crime and the punishment; he was dragged upon a hurdle in his shirt, and afterwards hanged or burnt, while the other returned honoured and triumphant, with a decree that attested him to have gained his suit, and allotted him all manner of satisfaction.

THERE is throughout all this ceremony something wild and ridiculous, but, however, the voice of reason, authority, and prudence, is still heard, tho' its dictates are utterly mistaken; whereas there is nothing but monstrous unreasonableness in the practice of those smart youths, who withdraw slyly into a field to shed the blood of one another, with hands impelled by no better instinct than that which instigates a beast of prey. If men went to fight with the same coolness and deliberation as in former times, can it be imagined that there would be the hundredth part of the duels that now happen? But men have thought it necessary to dismiss consideration from that action, which is serious above all others: some rush blindly into this danger, others please themselves with being born for the destruction of their fellow creatures; others revive the hateful trade of the gladiators, and are indeed more dreadful and contemptible than the men that bore that name were heretofore.

THE forms of duels which were observed in Germany, differ not essentially from those of France, which I have described: they were likewise received in Spain and England; only he who yielded to his adversary upon a single wound was reputed infamous; he could not afterwards either cut his beard, bear any office, wear a weapon, or mount a horse. On the contrary, he who died in a courageous defence was buried honourably. Another singularity, which must have kept duels from being common in Germany, was, that there were only three places where they could be fought, Witzbourg in Franconia, Uspach, and Hall in Swabia.

1605.

I COULD not wait for his majesty's return to Paris, to communicate to him the memorial of which I have now mentioned the contents; to inform him of the accidents to which this practice gave occasion; and to desire him to put a stop to an evil which was every day spreading by his indulgence. I intreated him to attend to the counsel which I had presumed to give him, to renew the edicts against duels, to aggravate the punishment considerably, and execute it severely; and to forbid all men to prosecute any word of injury or offence otherwise than by course of law; but to manage so, that the justice obtained might be speedy and satisfactory; to make the complainant easy, and the aggressor penitent; and lastly, to have this new order fixed up, at the beginning of every year, in the courts of the Louvre, the palace, the arsenal, and in other places that were most frequented*. It is certain, as I represented to his majesty, that a reputation for personal valour, such as this prince had established, was able to give to an edict concerning duels, twice the authority that it could derive from mere royal pleasure, but the pleasure of the master of kings, a power far superior, did not allow to the reign of Henry the Great, the extirpation of this abuse.

It may be said, without pretending to justify this prince, that his easiness with respect to duels proceeded from a habit contracted by his long wars, by which he saw bloodshed without emotion; and that he was likewise not much less indifferent about his own blood. He had always some notion that the last moment was inevitably predetermined: this opinion he disguised to himself, under the christian notion of resignation to God. There was sent me from Rome, about that time, an account of a conspiracy against the state, and an attempt upon the life of the king, which I thought I ought to disclose to him, though it seemed to me worthy to be despised, as indeed he despised it. He told me, on that occasion, that he was convinced of its being best for his happiness to pay no manner of regard to intelligence like this †, and that otherwise his life would be worse than death; that the calculators

* If we attentively read what cardinal de Richelieu has said on this subject, in his Political Testament, part I. chap. iii. § 2. the title whereof is, *Of the means to prevent duels*; we must own, that great minister seems to have drawn all his reflections on this matter from this and other parts of

these Memoirs where duels are spoken of.

† "Let him alone," said this prince to those who persuaded him to punish a man who had been engaged in a conspiracy against him, "he is a wicked wretch whom God will punish, without my interfering." Matthieu, vol. I. b. 2. p. 359.

of natiivities had threatened him, some, that he should die by the sword; and others by a coach : but that none of them had ever mentioned poison, which seemed to him the easiest way to dispatch him, because he eat a great deal of fruit of all kinds that were offered him, without having them tasted ; therefore, upon the whole, he gave himself up to the Lord of his life and of his death. 1605.

It was not possible but speaking in this manner, Henry reckoned a little, without perceiving it, upon the good fortune that had accompanied him as well in the dangers that particularly threatened his person *, as those which regarded his kingdom and happiness. Of eight persons from whom he had most to fear in this latter respect, he remarked that some favourable planet had freed him from six of the most considerable ; that one was dead in the hangman's hand, and two others of sickness ; the fourth was actually in prison ; the fifth was gone into voluntary banishment ; the sixth was reduced to flatter him whom formerly he endeavoured to destroy. For the other sort of good fortune, we have seen examples throughout this history : but, alas ! this good fortune was not complete ; but an unhappy moment for France, as well as for the prince, has wholly blotted out that idea of prosperity.

* Henry IV. escaped one, on Monday the 19th of December ; of which M. de Perefice gives the following relation. " The same day on which Mairargues was executed, an unfortunate madman made an attempt on the sacred person of the king, rushing on him with a poignard in his hand, as he returned from hunting over the Pont-neuf. His majesty's footmen running up obliged him to quit his hold, and were going to beat his brains out on the spot, had not the king forbid them, and ordered him to be imprisoned in Fort-L'Evêque. His name was John De-Lille, a native of Vincux

" near Senlis. He was immediately afterwards examined by the president Jean-
" nin, who could not get any rational answer from him ; for he was entirely out of his senses : he fancied himself to be king of all the world, and said Henry IV. had usurped the kingdom of France from him, and he was therefore going to chastise him for his temerity : whereupon the king thinking him sufficiently punished by his madness, commanded he should only be kept in prison, where he died soon after." History of Henry the Great, part 3.

M E M O I R S

O. F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XXIII.

1606.

THE king and queen being at Paris on the first day of this year, I went to the Louvre in the morning, to pay my respects to them, and offer the usual presents. I did not find the king in his own chamber; L'Oserai and Armagnac told me, that he was in bed with the queen, and that, probably, both were still asleep, because the queen's indisposition had kept them awake almost the whole night. I passed on to the queen's apartment, to enquire of La-Renouillere and Catherine Selvage the state of their majesties health; and knocked at the door as softly as possible, that I might not wake them. I found that the courtiers were already admitted; for several voices, which I knew to be those of Roquelaure, Frontenac, and Beringhen, asked all at once, *Who is there?* and when I answered, I heard them say to the king, *Sire, it is the Grand Master*: "Come in, Rosny, said his majesty to me, you will think me lazy, till you know what has kept us so late in bed: my wife, who believes she is in her eighth month, having had some pains as she was going to bed, I was apprehensive that she would have a dangerous labour; but towards the middle of the night they proved to be only the effects of the cholic; and the growing easy we fell asleep, and neither of us waked till six o'clock this morning; but on her part, with groans, sighs, and tears, for which she has assigned


“ imaginary causes : I will tell you what they are when some of these people have left the room, for you will not fail to speak your sentiments freely, and I believe your advice will not be unuseful on this occasion, any more than on many others of the same kind. But, in the mean time, let us see what you have brought us for our new-year’s-gifts, for I perceive you have three of your secretaries with you, each loaded with a velvet bag.” “ I remember, sire, replied I, that when I last saw the queen and your majesty together, you were both in very good humour, and believing that I should find you still so, and in expectation of another son, I have brought you a great many new-year’s-gifts, which, from the pleasure they will be received with by those persons among whom I shall distribute them in your name, will afford you great satisfaction; and I could wish this might be done in the presence of your majesty and the queen.” “ Though she is silent, replied the king, and plays the dormouse, as usual, yet I know she is not asleep; but she is offended both with you and I: we will talk of this when only you, Renouillere, Berlinghen, and Catherine are present, for they know something of the matter---but let us see your gifts.” “ These presents, said I to his majesty, do not express the state of a grand master of the ordinance, nor are worthy of the treasurer of a rich and powerful monarch; but, small as they are, they will nevertheless give more joy to those on whom they are bestowed, and will produce you more acknowledgments, glory, and praises, than the excessive gifts you lavish upon persons who I am well assured thank you only by complaints full of ingratitude.” “ I understand you by half a word,” replied Henry, as you sometimes shew you do me: but let us see your presents, and talk no more of what you have heard.”

I THEN ordered my three secretaries to approach. “ Sire, said I, here is Arnaud the elder, who carries in this bag, which holds the papers of the council, three purses of gold medals.” I shewed them to the king, and explained the motto, which expressed the affection of the people for his majesty. “ One of these purses, sire, continued I, is for yourself, the other for the queen, and the third for the dauphin; that is to say, for Mamanga*, if her majesty does not keep it herself, as she always does. In this bag likewise are eight purses

* Madam de Montglat, whom the young prince called so. In the 913th vol. of the king’s MSS. which is entirely filled with original letters of Henry IV. the queen,

and madam Elizabeth of France, to madam de Montglat, there is one from the young dauphin to his sister, in which he tells her, he kisses Mamanga’s hands.

16c6. “ of silver medals, struck in the same manner, two for your majesty, two for the queen, and four for Renouillere, Catherine Selvage, and such other ladies of the queen’s chamber as you shall please to give them to. Arnaud the younger has in his bag five and twenty purses of silver medals, to be distributed by the Dauphin, madam de Montglat, madam de Drou, and mademoiselle de Piolant, among the nurses, and other women attendants on your children, and among the queen’s maids. And in the third bag, which Le-Gendre carries, there are thirty little bags, of a hundred crowns each, in demy-franks, all new, and so large that they look like whole ones; these are for presents to the queen’s maids, and the women of her chamber, and those belonging to the children of France, according to your orders. I have left two large bags in my coach, to the care of my servants, full of *douxains*, all new likewise, and each bag worth a hundred crowns, which make twelve thousand sous; these are to be divided among the poor invalids who are upon the keys of the river near the Louvre, which I am told are almost full. I have sent thither twelve of the most charitable men in the city to range them in order, and distribute the presents. You cannot imagine how much these trifling new-year’s-gifts, in little pieces new coined, will please these poor men, and the queen’s maids and women of her chamber: they all declare, that they do not regard these gifts for the value, but as being instances of your regard for them; especially the queen’s maids, who say, that what is given them to purchase cloaths they must lay out as directed, but these hundred crowns they may lay out in what trifles they please, which is more to their taste.” “ But, Rosny, said his majesty to me, will you give them their new-year’s-gifts without making them kiss you for them?” “ Truly, sire, replied I, since you once commanded them to kiss me, I am under no necessity of using prayers and intreaties, they come very willingly; and madam de Drou, who is so devout, only laughs at it.” “ Ah! Rosny,” continued Henry, with the same gaiety, “ since it is so, pray tell me truly, who kisses you most willingly? and which of them do you think the handsomest?” “ Faith, sire, returned I, I cannot tell you, I have no leisure to think of gallantry, and I believe they take as little notice of my beauty as I of theirs: I kiss them as we do relics when we present our offerings.” The king could not help laughing aloud; and addressing himself to those who were present, “ What do you think, said he, of this prodigal financier, who makes such rich presents out of his master’s pocket for a kiss?” After diverting himself a few moments

ments with this thought, "Go to breakfast, said he to the courtiers, 1606.
 "and leave us to confer a little upon matters of more importance." 

Every one retiring but Renouillere and Catherine, the king gently pushing the queen, "Awake, you dormouse, said he, give me a kiss, "and groan no more, for all our little quarrels are already forgot by "me; I am solicitous to keep your mind easy, lest your health should "suffer during your pregnancy: you imagine, pursued he, that Rosny "favours me in our little disputes; but you would be undeceived, if "you knew with what freedom he sometimes tells me truths: and tho' "I often resent those liberties, yet I am not really offended with him "for them; on the contrary, I should believe he no longer loved me, "if he ceased to make me such remonstrances as he thought were necessary for the honour of my person, the good of my kingdom, and "my people's happiness; for be assured, my dear, added he, there "are none so just and so upright, who would not wholly fall, if, when "they began to stumble, they were not supported by the good coun- "cils of prudent friends and faithful servants: and to convince you "of the truth of what I say, know that Rosny has been continually "telling me, for these fifteen days past, that you are in your eighth "month, and that I ought not to discompose you, for fear of hurting "your son, for a son he insists upon it, it is *."

THIS good prince, assuming an air still more tender and obliging, intreated her to tell him, before me, what was the cause of her waking sighing and in tears. The queen at last, turning to him, said, that her grief was occasioned by a dream, which seemed to confirm what had been predicted to her a few days before, but that her mind had been relieved by weeping. She then, in her turn, intreated the king to spare her any farther uneasiness, at least while she was with-child, and to avoid giving vent to such expressions, "which, said she, "make me, as well as others, believe, that you are happier in the "company of other persons than in mine, and those too, pursued she, "whom I well know are not only unfaithful to you, but hate you

* The astrologers had foretold it, says L'Etoile's Journal, and that the queen's life would be in danger. She was happily brought to bed of a daughter on the 10th of February. Henry IV. in order to comfort the queen (for she passionately desired to have a son) said to her, with his usual

gaiety, that if this daughter should not happen to meet with a proper establishment, there would be many others in the same condition; and that if her mother had not bore a daughter, she would not have been queen of France.

1606. " in their hearts; I know the reason also, and I appeal for the truth of
 this to M. de Rosny, whose word I will take."


I AVOIDED this explanation, by answering in a general manner, that it gave me great joy to see their majesties open their minds thus frankly upon their little quarrels; that I found it would not be difficult to put a final end to them for the future, if they would seriously resolve to yield to such means as would be used for that purpose, by persons who chose rather to serve their true interest than soothe their resentment. This proposal was accepted immediately, and they desired me to propose those means; the queen saying, that she was resolved to make use of them, and the king, that they would be highly agreeable to him. I then declared to their majesties in plain terms (having first convinced them, that any other remedy would end only in talking and acting to no purpose, as had hitherto been the case) that there was only one way of getting rid, at once, of all the occasions of these perplexities; that since they had reason to distrust their own steadiness, in taking and keeping resolutions, they should make choice of some person for this business, who during the determination, and afterwards, should take the whole upon himself, and act as if the king and queen were absolutely without concern in it. I advised them to chuse a man steady enough not to let himself be shaken by any consideration, and capable of such pure and honest affections, as to serve them, when the case should require, by opposing their inclinations.

I DISCOVERED not the least inclination to be employed in this business, which indeed was not very agreeable; but I assured their majesties, that if it was upon me they cast their eyes, they must begin by being absolutely silent with respect to the means they saw me make use of; and that, to give me a security that my work should not be destroyed by any return of disgust, they should oblige themselves, in the most solemn manner, not to oppose any thing I should do, nor to preserve any resentment against me, although one of the parties, and perhaps both, must, by admitting the remedy I should make use of, do some violence to their inclinations. I believe they guessed what this remedy was*; and I may venture to assert, that if they had agreed to my proposal, no human consideration should have hindered me from

* M. de Sully has acquainted us with it before, in the advice he gave the king, to send four or five persons over the moun-

tains, and the like number over the seas, as he expresses himself.

pursuing

1606. 

pursuing it; but I had good reason to fear they would not suffer me to proceed thus far. However, the king replied, that he was ready to sign this engagement; but the queen, finding herself pressed, durst not venture to make any promise; she said she would consider of it; or otherwise, I must tell her what it was I intended to do. Yet she knew my intentions as well as the king, but was afraid of the consequences of a compromise. So we did nothing afterwards but talk of that matter to the wind; for such it is to discuss with a serious air the trifling projects of the court, which have been already so often exhausted and worn out. It was through complaisance for their majesties that I consented to engage in this business, they having earnestly pressed me to it. I withdrew upon the queen's calling for her shift, and the king for his cloaths.

THE king and queen made my wife and I very considerable presents, in return for my new-year's-gifts; we likewise received some presents from queen Margaret. All the time the king staid in Paris was spent in balls, masquerades, and diversions of every kind. January the 10th this prince came to the Arsenal, it being very fine weather, to see a course of running at the ring.

De Thou.
Merc. Fr.
ann. 1606.

WHEN the entertainment was over, Henry led me into the great walk in the gardens, where leaning against the side of the balcony, I heard him with pleasure begin a serious conversation upon his political designs; the motto of my medals, with which he was greatly pleased, had turned his thoughts upon that subject. I had before perceived for some time, that Henry began to be more and more persuaded of the necessity and importance of this political plan; and that he every day removed some obstacle to the execution of it: he used often to say to me that Philip III. had not profited by the wise councils of Philip II. his father, to look upon all those vain-glorious ideas of universal monarchy, with which his predecessors heads had been intoxicated, as so many idle chimera's: he added, that this prince, by all his proceedings, had made it evident he had not renounced them, and that there was not one among all the princes of Christendom, who would be exempted from the attacks of this proud and insolent monarchy, till it was made to feel its own impotence of power by that great blow, the design of which I had first hinted to him, and to the king of England; and which, as he owned, had not made all the impression on his mind it ought to have done. I believe the proceedings of the chamber *Des grand jours* in the former year, contributed most to this firmness

1605. of Henry ; for by this discovering the secret practices of Spain against him, his natural hatred of that crown was greatly increased.

I MAY venture to affirm also, that the conversation we had together upon this subject had a great share in the resolution he had now taken ; and indeed it was not possible for a prince, though he were ever so inattentive to his own glory, to reflect upon all which an insatiable avarice and boundless ambition had in these later times induced the house of Austria to undertake, without being seized with indignation. That Raoul de Habsbourg, whose noblest exploits, when his election to the empire was declared to him, had been to lead some soldiers into the neighbourhood of Basil, during the factions of the Etoiles and the Papequais, was never easy till he had divided Alsace between himself and the city of Strasburg ; and afterwards increased his little domaine with the dutchies of Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, and other hereditary lands which are still possessed by his family in Germany. From the beginning of the fourteenth century, when this happened, down to our own times, how many states, what an immense extent of country, has not this all-engrossing house devoured ? the kingdoms of Spain, those of Naples and Sicily in Italy, the isles of Sardinia, Majorca, and Minorca, Bohemia and Hungary in Germany, Burgundy, Flanders, and all the Low Countries ; add to these, the acquisitions she has made in the eastern isles, and in the new world, equal almost in extent to all that is discovered of the three other parts of the earth. Can we still doubt then whether Charles V. who raised her to such an exalted pitch of power, intoxicated with such success, did not seriously think of swallowing up all the rest of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Is there a necessity to bring any other proofs of this vain scheme for universal monarchy than the destruction of the German protestants, the conquest of Tunis and Algiers, the invasion of France, so openly declared by the irruption made into Provence, and by the famous siege of Metz ; enterprises formed at one time by that monarch ? And if we have seen this project blasted, to what can we attribute it, except to different circumstances, and obstacles raised against himself by the precipitation of a mind which, in the intoxication of success, thinks every thing possible ? Charles V. undertook too many things at once, and those greatly beyond his strength ; he engaged in those enterprises without caution, and almost without any preparation ; he braved earth, sea, the elements, and seasons. Soliman, who made head against him in Europe,

Europe, Asia, and Afric; Francis the first, Henry the eighth, the Pope, the kings of Navarre, Tunis, and Algiers, were enemies he despised, and whom he scarce took any notice of: he knew not how to manage the only resources which remained for him; his own subjects rebelled against him in Spain, Flanders, and Sicily: at length when he acknowledged his error he found no other remedy for it but an effort of despair, which made him abandon all, to confine himself to the gloom of a cloister. I never drew this picture to Henry without adding, that Philip the second, as ambitious as his father, but a better politician, had resumed all his designs, and might possibly have succeeded in them, if his private views upon France, England, and Ireland, had not been crossed by the lucky chance that had brought together two such able heads, as those of Henry and Elizabeth*.

I HAD always been apprehensive of the effects of the courtiers suggestions, and the persuasions of the queen. This princess was continually representing to the king her husband, the advantages of a double alliance with Spain; she affirmed, that if France was united with Rome, and the two Austrian branches, it would be an effectual way to extinguish all factions in Europe, and that policy as well as religion dictated this method. Henry assured me that this sort of conversation, which had prevailed at court for some time, no longer affected him; and if he sometimes heard and answered such discourse, like one who sought to convince himself by making solid objections, it was only to hinder those persons from penetrating into his designs, and to flatter them with the hope of gaining him over to theirs, till a proper time came for taking off the masque. We agreed that matters were not yet ripe enough for that; and this conversation concluded, as many others on the same subject had done, by agreeing that, till that moment arrived, it was Henry's part to continue his endeavours for drawing into this association, the princes of Germany and Italy, the dukes of Bavaria and Savoy, the former especially, by the prospect of gaining the imperial crown, and the latter by the hopes of acquiring Lombardy, and the regal dignity granted in favour of a marriage betwixt his eldest son and the eldest daughter of France.

* It could only be with a view to invade France in general, or some part of it, that Phillip II. intended to possess himself of the duke of Savoy's dominions, by giving the

duke some of his own in exchange for them: Matthieu the historian informs us of this circumstance, vol. II. b. ii. p. 240.

1606.

THE king could think of no other means to remove those obstacles which he had reason to expect the duke of Bouillon would raise, than to reduce him to reason, by seizing the city of Sedan. This expedient Henry's own mind suggested to him; and he resolved upon it so much the more willingly, as he could undertake this expedition without creating any suspicion of his other designs. He ordered to prepare immediately a train of artillery, proportionable rather to the reputation of that place, than its real strength, which this prince did not know quite so well as myself: he declared to me, that he was resolved to march thither in person, unless he was prevented from it by the gout or some other indisposition, in which case he would commit the conduct of this enterprise to me; and that I might join together the authority and dignity suitable to the high employment I exercised, his majesty offered me that moment, and indeed commanded me to accept the rank of duke and peer, desiring me to tell him from which of my estates I would chuse to take my title, that he might order Villeroi to make out the patent immediately.

I HAD refused this dignity before when the king sent me ambassador to England; but, since that time, the repeated bounties of this indulgent master had removed the obstacle which hindered me from taking advantage of his favourable intentions; and finding likewise that this prince wished me to be raised to this rank as much for his own interest as mine, I accepted this new favour with the highest acknowledgment. I named the lands of Sully for my title, and the patent for it was signed on the 12th of February, sealed a few days afterwards, and registered on the last of the same month*. All the lords of the court, and the greatest part of the *grandeess* of the kingdom, were pleased to accompany me when I went to the parliament for the ceremony of my reception, which was still further honoured by the presence of all the princes of the blood, except the count of Soissons; the great chamber, the hall, all the galleries, and the very courts themselves were so full, that there was scarce room to move. I carried sixty persons of the highest quality home with me to the Arsenal, where an entertainment of flesh and fish was prepared for them, and was most agreeably surprised to find his majesty, who went thither during the ceremony without giving me notice of his intention. "Grand master," cried the king, as soon

* De Thou, b. xxxvi. and almost all the historians, mention the distinguished manner in which this dignity was conferred on

the marquis de Rosny. Henry IV. had before made him honorary counsellor of the parliament.

as I entered, "I am come to the feast without being invited; shall I have a bad dinner?" "It is possible you may, Sire, I replied, since I did not expect to be honoured with your presence." "I assure you I shall not," returned the king, preventing my acknowledgments, "for while I waited your return, I visited your kitchens, where I have seen the finest fish imaginable, and ragouts in my own taste; and because you staid too long, I have allayed my hunger with some oysters, and drank some of your wine of Arbois, which I think is the best I ever tasted." The king's gaiety heightened the pleasure of the entertainment; and the rest of the day was passed to the entire satisfaction of the guests.

1606.

His majesty sent for me the next morning, and, in the presence of all the courtiers, asked me whether I had remembered to make a memorial of the train of artillery for the attack of Sedan which he had mentioned to me: it was already drawn up; and when I left my closet I put it into my pocket. I now presented it to the king, who caused it to be read aloud, by which means the courtiers were acquainted with the king's design; who afterwards humorously said, that the duke of Bouillon, though a naturalised German, had not probably forgot the French language, but that if it was so, we might teach it him in a little time by this method. His majesty then seeming to expect my advice concerning this war, I told him that I did not think the duke of Bouillon had so little judgment, as not to be sensible of the vast disproportion betwixt his majesty's forces and his own, or so imprudent as to expose himself to the danger of knowing it by experience; that I had a long time foreseen his city would not hold out against the cannon; and knowing this better than any other; I was assured that, if he made any shew of resistance, it was only with a hope that, during that time, he might employ more successfully the arts of negotiation; yet that I took the liberty to advise his majesty to write once more to the duke of Bouillon, and let him know that, in the present conjuncture, he might come with full security and throw himself at his feet, and be very certain that, upon this submission and more exactness in keeping his word for the future, his pardon would be granted and himself treated as formerly; but that if he refused this last favour, he must no longer expect to be received upon any terms of composition. After this I continued to give the king an account of the preparations I had made; the king approved of the hint I gave him, to send away only the body of the artillery from Paris, and to take up the ammunition and other necessary provisions in places nearer Sedan, to save the expences of carriage.

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THIS affair was not pushed on as vigorously as I had expected it would, on account of the great opposition it met with at court, where the least preparation for war seemed to give as much alarm as it could do to the enemies themselves. Nothing was talked of but the difficulties to be encountered before a town, the fortification and situation of which every one exaggerated to Henry, and of the inconveniencies which would attend a siege as long as that must inevitably be: to hear them, one would have imagined that heaven and earth were interested in favour of Bouillon and his city. They contrived that a memorial on this subject, in the form of a letter, should fall into his majesty's hands, full not only of absurdity but impertinence; the king thought the style of it resembled that of the Duke of Bouillon, with some strokes of Duplessis and Tilenus: it was not surprising that the particular friends of Bouillon or the protestants should talk in this manner, such as Montluet, La-Nouë and the two Saint-Germains, who might think the whole protestant body concerned in this business; but it was strange that persons who had no connexion with the duke of Bouillon, and even others who understood fortification, as the engineer Erard for instance, should never mention this design but to shew the impossibility of executing it: it would be very difficult for me to believe that these persons wished well to the undertaking.

THE king himself fell into an irresolution which was wholly incomprehensible to me; I often represented to him, but in vain, that he would, by this procedure, give all the advantages of the cause to persons who, having neither arms, hearts, nor hands, depended upon this resource alone: and it is certain, that the duke of Bouillon would not have seen matters carried so far as they were, but because he persuaded himself upon the report of his friends at court, who gave him intelligence of what passed there, that his majesty would never carry his designs into execution. Another expedient which those persons made use of, was to tell the king that the duke had no intention to resist him, but that he could not resolve to appear weak and fearful before persons, who, instead of making him a faithful report of his majesty's intentions, seemed solicitous to widen their difference by threats and insults; that if, instead of those persons (and here I was certainly meant) his majesty would be pleased to treat with him, by men proper to inspire him with a confidence in his promises, he would be soon convinced of the truth of their assertions. Montluet * and La-Nouë, among others, boasted

* Francis d'Angennes, sieur of Montluet. Odet de La-Nouë.

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that they would, without any difficulty, bring him back to his duty; therefore the king thought the best thing he could do was to depute them to him: they brought back nothing but words, and those general and ambiguous; yet this did not open Henry's eyes, because they likewise represented to him that Sedan, by the new fortifications which were raised there, was absolutely impregnable. I know not whether they really were carried away by this false opinion, or only affected to appear so: but Henry, instead of hastening his preparations after this answer from the Duke of Bouillon, discovered more plainly, that he thought the success of this attempt very doubtful.

I LIKEWISE reflected seriously upon the disposition in which I saw the king, and began to fear, that when by supporting him against the general outcry, and against his own apprehensions, I should have embarked him in the enterprise; upon some unforeseen difficulty which he might probably meet with, or by not having influence enough over his mind already strongly prepossessed, he might abandon it after great noise and expence, or possibly listen to proposals for an accommodation with the duke, upon conditions neither suitable to his person or dignity; in which case it would be better either not to engage in the attempt, or to find, while it was yet time, some other way to save his majesty's honour. I was very sure, that the reproach of making useless armament, could not fall but upon me; that I should be accused of having done too much or too little, and that faults absolutely contradictory to each other would be imputed to me from the same persons. I concluded, that it was necessary Henry should of himself come to some determination; and I was willing to see what would be the result of his own reflexions.

I BEGAN therefore to speak less frequently, and with more coolness than before of the enterprise of Sedan, and observed the same conduct in public: the king was one of the first who perceived this alteration; and as he did not endeavour to penetrate into my reasons for this behaviour, or thought that I had changed my opinion concerning the duke of Bouillon and Sedan, it came into his mind that, having myself reflected more deeply upon the advice I had given him, I now tacitly retracted it, perceiving that the blow I was aiming against one of the heads of the protestants might fall upon the whole body, by opening a way to oppress, one after the other, all who supported them in France. From this thought, which was already firmly established, Henry easily passed to a belief that I had no great reliance upon his equity, or that my

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my attachment to my religion carried me too far : he declared this suspicion to several persons whom he knew to be my friends, and in order to have it cleared up by myself, he came to the Arsenal. I was then confined to my chamber, by the wound I had formerly received in my mouth and neck, from whence issued a splinter of bone, some lint, lead, and some grains of gunpowder, still so fresh and so little altered, that they took fire when laid on some burning coals.

HENRY turning the discourse upon the duke of Bouillon, “ I think, “ said he, you are not so solicitous about this affair of Sedan, as you “ were some time ago, nor so firm and steady in your resolves concerning it as I have known you to be on other occasions, where far “ greater difficulties were to be expected; what is the meaning of it ? “ tell me freely I entreat you, and do not conceal any thing from me.” This prince, by an effect of the liveliness of his temper, did not give me time to reply, but proceeded to discover the notion he had entertained of my alarms and apprehensions with respect to the protestant body in France. He protested with great earnestness against the suspicion of his labouring to ruin the chief protestants one after the other; he appealed to the knowledge I had of his sentiments, and asked whether it was not true, that it was generally known that, in whatever concerned the service of his person and his table, he chose rather to trust himself in the hands of the protestants than the catholics; and he assured me also, that he had no personal hatred to the duke of Bouillon; that he would require nothing dishonourable of him; in a word, that he would make me judge of the manner in which he ought to be treated.

I WAS pleased to hear the king speak thus, and assured him, that I was well convinced of his favourable sentiments for the protestants in general, and for me in particular; yet I owned, that the suspicion he had entertained of me with regard to the affair of Sedan had given me uneasiness: I declared to him the true cause of that coldness he taxed me with; and, having afterwards exhausted all the reflexions which the mind could suggest on this occasion, I disclosed one to him which had occurred to no one but myself; and this was, that the expences Bouillon had been at in fortifying Sedan having entirely exhausted his funds, and probably involved him in great debts, this might be the real cause of his not yielding to his majesty's desires, since, if he resigned Sedan to him, he would deprive himself of the only resource he had to retrieve his affairs; and this supposed, perhaps all that was necessary to bring the affair to a happy conclusion, was to offer

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offer the duke of Bouillon a sum sufficient to pay his debts. I represented to the king, that if, by giving Bouillon two hundred thousand crowns, he might be prevailed upon to accept all the other conditions, his majesty would be still a gainer of six hundred thousand, since the expence of the armament he was preparing could not amount to less than eight hundred thousand crowns. A new motive for treating Bouillon with the utmost rigour of war, if he obliged the king to attack him, was to declare not only the principality of Sedan, but the viscounty of Turenne likewise reunited to the crown; although he pretended to hold them both of France in the same manner, as they do the great fiefs of the crown: I added, that unless his majesty did this, he would have the mortification of having made advances, for which afterwards nothing could make amends. It should seem that it was a kind of foresight of what happened, which made me insist so earnestly upon this alternative, either to shew an extreme indulgence before the enterprize was begun, or, when we had once taken up arms, an inflexible resolution.

THE king replied, that to enter into a negociation with Bouillon, would be to confirm him in the opinion, it appeared by the letter already mentioned he entertained, that his majesty durst not attack him: he consented, however, to let me try this method in concert with the prince of Orange * who was then at Paris, and that we should send Du-Maurier † to the duke with dispatches, the purport and terms of which he left wholly to me. "But you must likewise promise me," added "Henry, that, if he should not accept the offers you make him, you will serve me impartially in this affair, and in the manner you have done before," pursued he, instancing the siege of Amiens, the campaign of Savoy, and other enterprizes of the same kind. This I faithfully promised. "It is enough," said Henry, taking my hand, "I am satisfied, and will rely entirely upon your capacity and fidelity." Saying this he left me.

I WENT the next day to the prince of Orange, and concerted with her the manner in which we should both write to the duke of Bouillon. We settled the deputation of Du-Maurier, and the matter of the instructions which were to be given him. This is the substance of the letter I wrote to the duke; I began by calling to his remembrance the

* Louisa de Coligny the admiral's daughter, first married to the count de Teligny, who was killed on St. Bartholomew's day; and a second time to William of Nassau

prince of Orange, whose widow she then was.

† Benjamin Aubery du Maurier, at first attached to the duke of Bouillon, afterwards to the duke of Sully.

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power and personal abilities of the present king, both as well known to himself as to me; and I intreated him to reflect well upon the advantages they gave him, since this was the surest way to avoid the dangers with which he was threatened, and to prevent being blinded by his own prejudices, or carried away by the violence of his passions. This was not indeed to flatter, but, as I told him, it was to give him a clear notion of what he might expect, and to prevail upon him to follow the advice offered him by the princeſs of Orange, and by a man who ſolicited him as a friend, not to reduce himſelf to the neceſſity of giving to force, what nothing but his own obſtinacy would hinder him from granting to conditions dictated by the utmoſt gentleneſs. I did not enter into a detail of the propoſals, but informed him, that Du-Maurier was commiſſioned to make them to him perſonally; beſides which, we had reduced to writing all that he had to ſay to him in our names, that nothing might be forgot or miſtaken. I prevented the objections which I ſuppoſed he would make, that his majeſty did not appear to have any part in the propoſals we made him, by giving him my word of honour, and even offering to become ſurety, if neceſſary, that his majeſty would ratify whatever ſhould be agreed on betwixt us; adding, that I was willing to be branded with the names of baſe, perſidious, and diſhonourable, if every article was not performed. I concluded with earneſtly intreating him not to ſuffer matters to come to an extremity. This letter, which exactly agreed with that written by the princeſs of Orange, was dated the 1ſt of March.

THE duke of Bouillon answered by a letter, dated the 4th of the ſame month: he told me, that he had received a letter from me, as likewiſe one from the princeſs of Orange; that he had heard what Du-Maurier had to ſay, and read his paper attentively, but that he had reaſon to complain he ſhould be obliged to purchaſe the king's favour by a meanneſs which would render him unworthy of it; that what was promiſed him was only by a writing, which could be known but to a ſmall number of perſons, while all France would be witneſs of his humiliation, and the little regard the king would afterwards have for him; that his friends whom he had conſulted, and who were not ſo inconfiderable for their number as has been reported, were all of his opinion; that his majeſty was very far from having thoſe favourable thoughts of him which he had been made to hope for, ſince he diſtrufled his fidelity ſo much as not to allow him to keep a place of ſo little ſtrength as Sedan. And here he added, but with more confidence, and in contradiction to what he had juſt ſaid, that he was well informed

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informed there were persons who attempted to impose upon his majesty, by promising to make him master of Sedan in less than a month, and without the loss of one single man. Bouillon, no doubt, congratulated himself here on the ingenious way he had found to give me the lye in speaking to myself. The whole letter was in this strain of complaints without foundation, and protestations of innocence, equally vague and uncertain. He took care to avoid making any confession or promise; and all that he said to the purpose, after this idle preface, was, that if he had given the king any cause to be offended with him, rather than aggravate his fault by denying, he was ready to make a frank confession of it, and to submit to any reparation his majesty should require, provided it was not expected the return of his favour and confidence should cost him his poor inconsiderable city, which he was ready to declare, in an authentic manner, he held only from his goodness; but that if the king persisted in his resolution to deprive him of it, he should be forced to believe, that though his words expressed kindness, yet his actions testified hatred.

Bouillon's letter to the prince of Orange was conceived almost in the same terms; and what Du-Maurier related from himself having nothing more satisfactory in it, the king began to consider the duke of Bouillon as wholly untractable. I thought it necessary, however, to answer his letter: I told him that his majesty was displeased at the manner in which he had refused the offers he had made him by me; that he had thought his letters full of distrust, doubts, and expressions very disrespectful to him; besides his affectation of not answering precisely to what was proposed to him. I added, that I was truly grieved my advice would have no other effect but to embitter his mind, as it had happened formerly, when I wrote to him upon the imprisonment of marechal Biron; but that the time would come, and perhaps it was already near, when he would be sensible that the counsel I had given him was in the present conjuncture the best that could be offered; and I warned him, for the last time, to think seriously of it, and earnestly entreated him to take such a resolution as would be most for his true interest, since nothing (whatever he might think to the contrary) would give me more satisfaction.

IN the mean time I had found means to get a plan of Sedan drawn, both of the upright and the ground-plot. The king came to the Arsenal to look at it, and brought with him the count of Soissons, the duke of Epemon, the marechals Brissac, Fervaques, Bellegarde, and

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Roquelaure, Don John de Medicis, De-Vic, Montluet, La-Nouë, Boësse, Nereftan, D'Escures, Erard, and Châtillon, who had drawn the plan, but whom I had exprefsly ordered not to give his opinion before fo many witneffes. The fituation of the place, its strength, and the form of the attack, were fubjects for endlefs debate among fo many perfons: Montluet, La-Nouë, and Erard, maintained with great obftinacy, that it was impregnable, and could only be reduced by famine. All this while I fcarce made any anfwer, though they generally addreffed themfelves to me, and often demanded my thoughts of thofe terrible foffes, all cut in the rock, for fo they alledged they were.

THE affembly feparating without taking any refolution, I waited upon his majefty the next day; and after telling him my reafon for keeping f Silence the day before, which was, that among fo many perfons fecrecy is but ill kept, I made him fenfible, that none of thofe diligent obfervers had attended to any of the defects in the fortification, among which were, the valley of the fountain, that of Ginmenés, the foffes, which in fome places were not defended by the natural rock, but flanked with earth brought thither for the purpofe; and the two approaches by the river fide, one above and the other below, fo fpacious, that I affured his majefty I would lodge, and that with very little danger, all the troops within two hundred paces of the city, and even under the counterfcarp of the artificial ditches, becaufe that the turning of the valleys would cover them from the difcharge of the fmall arms, while the befieged would not be able to fhew themfelves upon their parapets, nor fcarcely in any other place, without being perceived from the eminences in the field, which fo abfolutely command the whole body of the fortification, that we might have a full view of the infide of the lodgments, from before, behind, and of each fide: and I gave his majefty my word, that within the eighth day after the batteries were raifed, I would put him in poffeffion of Sedan.

THIS once the king believed me, and in the joy that tranfported him he flew to impart it to meffieurs de Medicis, de La-Force, De-Vic, de Nereftan, and Boëffe, whofe difcretion he was well affured of, and who greatly praifed my caution. After this, Henry no longer hesitated whether he fhould attack Sedan, but prepared to fet out as foon as poffible, at the head of a body of cavalry, and fome companies of the regiment of guards; while I, in the mean time, affembled the reft of the troops in a body, and fent away the artillery before; taking care that the country people and citizens fhould receive no infult, or fuffer
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the least inconvenience, by the quartering of so great a number of
soldiers. 1606.

THE design of falling upon the duke of Bouillon could not fail to raise murmurs among the protestants; and it is probable, that the duke depended upon a general insurrection in his favour. If this was the case, he was deceived in his expectations; to which, I confess, I contributed. I took occasion, from a letter that Parabere wrote to me upon this subject, to give in my answer a kind of manifesto, which might justify to the protestants the king's proceedings, and shew that the duke of Bullion suffered only through his own fault. It was for this reason that I took much more pains in the composition of this letter, and extended it to greater length, than I should have done if Parabere only had been to see it; for I suspected, and with reason, that it would be made public.

I BEGAN with enumerating the chief favours which Bouillon had received from his majesty, who had preferred him to the prince of Condé himself, made him marechal of France, first gentleman of the bed-chamber, and raised, before any other of the protestants, to all honours and dignities, rewarded with pensions and appointments much larger than what were given to the others, his pensions, salaries, &c. amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand livres a year; besides which, his majesty had married him as advantageously as he could have done his own son or brother; favoured him in the succession of Limeuil, and, after the death of the duchess his wife, supported him with all his power: this particular I was myself an ocular witness of, and I spoke of it as such. To all these acts of kindness, and these repeated benefits, I opposed the ingratitude with which Bouillon had behaved to Henry; his secret practices, his seditious conduct at the siege of Amiens, his retiring from court when marechal Biron was arrested, and his leaving the kingdom, which was attended with circumstances more than sufficient to condemn him. I took Parabere to witness, that notwithstanding all this, himself, Constant, and I had been greatly instrumental in soliciting those favours which his majesty had since been still willing to bestow upon him: I observed to him, that Bouillon had in some sort confessed himself guilty of high treason, by his requesting a full and general pardon; and when his majesty appeared ready to grant it, eluded all by a subterfuge which was in itself a crime; for he, tho' a subject and domestic of the king, from whom alone he held the principality of Sedan, refused to hold it upon the same conditions of protection

1606. protection which the late duke of Bouillon had accepted from Francis II. of whom he was neither a subject nor domestic.

I AFTERWARDS enumerated all the conciliatory methods which some of his chief friends had sent Du-Maurier to propose to him, with full assurance that his majesty would consent to them, namely, that it should be proposed to the king, that Sedan should be considered as one of the cautionary cities given to the protestants; that the duke should sell it to the king; or if not, that La-Nouë should be made governor of it, the sovereignty, and even property, remaining to the duke: but that while the king offered him more than he had reason to expect, he would listen to nothing, and, by his ill-timed obstinacy, obliged us to draw our swords against each other, and to reduce the church of Sedan to the extremity it would be shortly in: that his majesty was so greatly affected at this misfortune, that he had resolved, and even faithfully promised the deputies from the church, to make no change, or introduce any innovation in the religion of Sedan, although he should take it by storm. I concluded with earnestly intreating Parabere to do me justice in public, as to the purity of my intentions, and my grief at beholding one, who professed the same religion as myself, running so blindly upon his destruction.

HENRY thought it necessary to use the same precaution with the protestant party. Bouillon having made, by La-Nouë, some proposals not fit to be received, the king published and answered them by a writing which was distributed among the duke's friends, tho' at the hazard of confirming both him and them in their belief, that his majesty was desirous of ending this affair by gentle means; and they accordingly gave out, that the king now despaired more than ever of the success of his enterprize; to which Bouillon added (as being reported to him by La-Viéville, D'Arson, and Du-Maurier, who were deputed to him at different times) that it was I who thus rashly engaged his majesty, against his inclinations, in a war; and that I one day boasted to this prince, I would take Sedan in three months, by attacking it on the side of Fer-a-Cheval. This last report indeed was true, and made the king begin to reflect upon the pretended fidelity of those he had admitted into his councils; for when those words escaped me there were none present but the king, Don John, and Erard. Bouillon accordingly considered and treated me as one of his most dangerous enemies, who endeavoured to suppress every favourable thought which arose in the mind of his majesty for him. It was the king's part to answer this reproach,

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and he did it in the manner I wished; and as for those other reports, which were still more insolent, he resolved to force Bouillon soon to change his style. 1666.

HIS majesty left Fontainebleau the latter end of March, carrying with him the queen, who would go part of the journey *, notwithstanding the badness of the roads; and took his rout by Rheims, Rhe-tel, Mézieres, Doncheri, and Moufon. As I did not see his majesty again till the whole affair was concluded, I shall take the relation I give of it from the letters he wrote to me, and those which by his orders were continually sent me by Villeroi and La-Varenne.

BOUILLON kept up his first arrogance as long as he could: he boasted of Du-Maurier, that as soon as he sounded a trumpet he would drive the forces of France from his gates. The king, while he pursued Bouillon with arms, was desirous also that preparations should be made for his trial, which he commanded me to push on vigorously before I set out to join him. The duke tampered so successfully with four of his majesty's gunners, that they suffered themselves to be prevailed on to desert to him, making use of the horses he sent them to La-Fère in Tarténois for that purpose; a crime which well deserved an exemplary punishment. Although the duchess of Bouillon did not leave Sedan, yet he managed with such art, that those whom his majesty employed to bring him an account of every thing that was doing there, reported that she had retired to Germany, to avoid the inconveniences she might be exposed to in a besieged city. He was heard to boast likewise, that by stamping his foot upon the ground, he would bring four thousand men into Sedan; and would have had it believed, that he had the absolute disposal of seventeen companies of horse, and some regiments of foot, which were in Luxembourg; and that he should procure a powerful supply from the Swiss Cantons. The most circumstantial advices we received were, that before the 20th of April he expected to be reinforced by five or six hundred soldiers, which he had caused to be levied in Gascony and in the neighbourhood of Limneuil, and ordered them to embark at Bourdeaux. A nephew of Rignac, and a man named Prépondié, raised them, under colour of

* The queen only made this journey, according to De Thou, the Merc. Franç. and the most authentic memoirs of that time, in order to obtain the most advan-

tageous conditions that were possible for the duke of Bouillon, who had engaged her in his interest.

being

1606. being recruits for the war in Flanders : his majesty had received notice of this from Pucharnaut, while he was still at Paris.

THESE advices, upon a nearer examination, were found to have greatly exaggerated the truth : it was known that Germany did not offer to stir in the duke of Bouillon's cause ; the king was well assured by Bongars, that the arch-dukes testified more fear of our armament for themselves, than inclination to declare against us ; Spain thought the occasion too slight to break the peace with France ; and England had not the smallest consideration for Bouillon : three or four hundred Swiss adventurers were all he could depend upon, and this number was likely to be lessened, since our levies against him were carried on in those cantons without any opposition. Montglat had not yet seen the elector Palatine, but he wrote from Strasburg, that this prince shared in Bouillon's fears, and the Landgrave sent letters to France to notify his intentions to us.

As for the duke himself, every one knew that he had not more than twelve hundred foldiers in Sedan ; and we were afterwards more particularly informed, that he had, in reality, but seven or eight hundred, citizens and adventurers together, part of whom also seemed to have an inclination to leave the place before the approach of the king's army. It was reported that Bouillon himself had retired into Germany, escorted for some leagues by his garrison, and had been seen in Bascogne by some foldiers who knew him, and to whom he spoke. Some particulars, with regard to the orders he had given in Sedan for the castle and town, gave room to believe that he did not design to return : but this news, which the governor of Ville-Franche came express to relate to the king, was found to be false ; the duke of Nevers, who was better informed, wrote the king word, that the duke of Bouillon had indeed marched out of the town, at the head of three or four hundred men, but it was to meet a German prince, with whom he returned to Sedan the night after. Although the several informations given his majesty by his agents did not exactly agree in every circumstance, yet it was known from very good authority, that Bouillon was not far from his city. This German count, whom it was said he had brought into Sedan to undergo a siege there, was the third of the counts of Solme : the eldest was grand master to the elector Palatine ; we have seen the second with the sieur Du-Plession : as for this, his knowledge and experience were not spoken of very advantageously.

THE king was indisposed at Nanteuil, with a cold which did not hinder him from hunting, as soon as he began to spit : he wrote me word from this place on the 27th of March, that he had missed of his stag, but to make amends for that, he had taken two wolves, which he looked upon as a favourable augury ; at Fresne he found four companies of the regiment of guards, already recruited with seven hundred men, whom he permitted to stay there, till the 1st of April, to raise all the recruits they wanted. It was easy to perceive the heart of Henry expand itself, and a martial ardour appear in his countenance, at his resuming his first glorious occupation. He went two leagues from Fresne to dine, and from thence to attend the service called the ténébres at Rheims. Here he continued till the Wednesday following, when he was joined by the duke of Mercœur, and all the nobility of the country. There also he saw Du-Maurier, who came from Sedan, commissioned by the duke of Bouillon to tell him, that he consented to receive a person there, in the king's name, provided that he was invested with no authority, and that his garrison should remain there, commanded by his own officer ; that he was ready likewise to receive his majesty into Sedan with what train he should think proper, and all whom he chose to depute to him, but that he persisted in his resolution to be sole master of his own city ; and rather than resign it, he would be contented to lose his estates, his children, and his life : but in proportion as the danger came nearer, the duke's pride abated.

1606.

THE king, without returning any answer to this proposal, sent the duke of Nevers * to Mousson, to assemble what cavalry was come thither, and hinder those supposed troops of the duke of Bouillon from entering Sedan : the whole number amounted but to three hundred men, Swiss and Germans included ; and there was no appearance that any more supplies would be sent him, his majesty being then in a condition to prevent them. The king discovered great impatience to advance towards this city, but he had yet only his regiment of guards with him ; the recruits of light-horse arrived in good order, but the remainder of the troops were not to join him till the fourth of April. The king did me the honour to write to me twice from Rheims, on the 24th and 26th of March, pressing me to come thither to him with my son ; he proposed to set out on the 27th for Rhétel, and to be at Mousson on the 30th, which was the day he prescribed for the rendezvous

* Charles de Gonzague de Cleves, duke of Nevers.

1606. of the regiment of guards, although the roads were rendered almost impassable by the rains. His majesty wrote to me also to send him some officers and horses, with a convoy of pick-axes, shovels, and mattocks, and some pieces of cannon of a moderate size, to strengthen his lodgment.

NEVERTHELESS very little dependance was to be had upon all these appearances, as notwithstanding the preparations for war, so many persons were labouring to conclude the affair by way of negotiation; and in effect, the party that was for peace, in a short time prevailed. His majesty, however, was but ill satisfied with the last proposals which Du-Maurier had brought from Bouillon, and which, by the king's order, were communicated to the keeper of the great seal and to me. His majesty was yet more offended with the memorial, in which it seemed as if the duke wanted to treat with Henry as his equal. D'Arson, of his own accord, went to Bouillon after Du-Maurier had presented this impertinent memorial to the king; but Bouillon, after this sacrifice to his vanity, comprehended that it was at last time to change his language, which all of a sudden he softened very much; in consequence of which, he deputed Nétancour* to intreat his majesty to send Villeroi to confer and treat with him; to which the king consented, on condition that the conference was held at Torcy, in the dominions of France. The last act of extravagance of this man, who certainly deserved worse than what actually befel him, was to send back Aërsens, who, with Henry's leave, had been with him, and to declare by him, that he disclaimed Nétancour, and that he could do without Villeroi.

HENRY must have had some powerful reasons, though unknown to me, which made him depute, as he did after all this, Villeroi and Dinteville †, in order to throw the whole blame of the miscarriage of the accommodation upon Bouillon. With them it appears that Bouillon shewed neither ill-humour, nor a disinclination to treat. Villeroi himself wrote me word what passed between them, and subjoined to his letter a long memorial, which he wrote the same evening, being the 30th of March, after he had returned to Donchery. If I was to believe Villeroi (for we shall immediately see the reasons I had to doubt his sincerity) he found Bouillon so dark and irresolute, that he could

* John de Nétancourt, count of Vaucourt, counsellor of state, camp-marechal, lieutenant-general of the city and bishopric of Verdun, governor of Châlons in

Champaign, died in 1642.

† Joachim de Dinteville, governor of champaign.

not answer for any thing till another interview, nay until Bouillon had not only concluded and signed the treaty, but also begun to execute it : now how shall we be able to reconcile this with what follows immediately after, where he says, that it seems as if the duke of Bouillon was coming to reason, but, by supposing that he could not help throwing out some dark hints of his knowledge of the treaty being much nearer a conclusion than he cared to tell me. He further acquainted me, that a second conference was to be held the next morning at Donchery, which would oblige the king to spend another day in that place.

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As a proof that Villeroi did not communicate to me the whole of this affair, La-Varenne, who wrote to me at the same time, informed me, that Bouillon had presented himself at the conference with the air of a man who asked quarter ; for which conduct, says he, he had very good reason, as after having made his utmost efforts, after having exhausted his small territory by levies on all sides, he could raise no more than fifteen hundred raw men, none of whom had ever seen an engagement, with a few French and German foot soldiers, and only twenty-five Swiss, all the rest of his troops being in a most wretched condition, except some Flemings from Frankendal and the neighbouring country. Therefore, if in this extremity the duchess of Bouillon had not yet left Sedan, there was no reason to doubt but that her husband had resolved to accept of any conditions whatever, so that the treaty might be looked upon as in a manner concluded, it being only to save his character from the reproach of so hasty a capitulation, that the duke had demanded, as a favour, a respite till the next morning.

ALL was accordingly concluded in this second conference. Villeroi was in appearance, very eager to acquaint me with the news, since he wrote to me immediately after, as he had done the day before : however he took care to conceal part of what had passed, as we shall soon see. In this second letter, however, he promised to send me the treaty itself, as soon as it was fairly transcribed and signed, which was to be done the next morning : but in the mean time he specified the principal articles ; the treaty was intitled *Articles of the protection of Sedan, and Raucourt*, and dated April the 2d, 1606, and to remain in force four years. By this treaty, the duke of Bouillon consented that the king should place a governor in the castle, with a company of fifty men ; and that the inhabitants of Sedan should take the oath of fidelity to the king, which Bouillon also engaged to do himself. Villeroi filled up the rest of his letter with the praises which he said his majesty publicly bestowed

1606. on my vigilance, and the advice I had given on this occasion; yet surely this was unnecessary, for all my endeavours and all my counsels produced nothing: therefore, I was not to be dazzled by Villeroi's flattery, nor could I alter my opinion, of his proceedings.

I HAD no reason to doubt, that his majesty sincerely desired to give me some part in the conclusion of this affair, after the assurances I had received from him, and the letters he wrote to me for no other purpose but to press me to come, that nothing might be done without me. I do not pretend to know Villeroi's reasons for thinking so differently from his majesty in this respect; perhaps he was afraid I should deprive him of the honour of this treaty, or probably, he thought Bouillon might by my interposition, obtain terms more advantageous, in which case, our friendship would unite us against his policy, which was to keep the most considerable protestants at variance with each other. This, however, was certain, that he pressed the conclusion of the affair so much the more eagerly, as his majesty appeared solicitous for my being present, and repeated his invitations to me to come; and to effect his purpose, did not scruple to make use of a little artifice. Henry having given him the letters before mentioned to be dispatched to me, he committed them to the care of a footman, whom he ordered to ride slowly to Amiens, Saint-Quentin, and Rheims, that I might not receive them till I had got another letter from his majesty, which he wrote to me eight days afterwards, and was brought to me by a courier sent expressly with it. My astonishment may be easily imagined, when by these last dispatches, I found that his majesty was under great uneasiness on my account, fearing that I was indisposed, since he had received no answers to letters he had wrote to me eight days before, which was the cause that every thing had been concluded without me. In this letter, which was dated Saturday, April the 1st, Henry desired me to delay no longer, but to leave my heavy baggage at Châlons, and meet him on Monday following at Cazine, whither he went to see the queen.

HAVING received these two letters both in one day, I saw I had not a moment to lose, if I would meet his majesty at the place appointed. I found, by the reception he gave me, that, after a little reflexion, he would easily pardon the fault Villeroi had committed with regard to me *. This prince treated me with more than usual kindness and

* De Thou, in the account he gives of this expedition of Sedan, b. cxxvi. shews but a small degree of inclination to the duke of Sully, but a great one to the duke of

respect, supposing perhaps, that I resented his not waiting for me. " You are welcome, said he to me aloud, I have provided a supper
" and a bed for you; you shall have good accommodations." " Can
" you guess," said he afterwards in a low voice, and leaning towards
me, " why I have made such haste; it was because I knew that, as
" soon as you arrived, you would be for viewing every thing, and
" throwing yourself into the most dangerous places, so that I was ap-
" prehensive of some accident happening to you; and I would rather
" Sedan was never taken, than hazard such a misfortune, for I have
" need of you for affairs of much more consequence."

AFTER this, any reflexions I should make upon this agreement, and the whole conduct of the affair, might possibly not be free from partiality;

Bouillon. He would persuade us, that Henry IV. having been convinced, during this journey, that M. de Sully persecuted the *maréchal de Bouillon* only from a personal enmity to him, he was glad to take the opportunity his absence afforded, to determine this affair by a treaty, because in reality his connexions with *messieurs de Biron* and *d'Auvergne*, had not extended to any thing criminal. The evidence of the *Merc. Franc.* of almost all the historians, and of the author of the Apology for the duke of Bouillon himself, who, on the contrary, speaks more favourably on this occasion of the duke of Sully, than of the duke of Bouillon; and the other proofs interspersed through these Memoirs, incontestably evince, according to my judgment, the invalidity of what M. De Thou here asserts, of the opinion Henry IV. formed of the duke of Bouillon's sentiments and disposition. A quite different degree of credit is due to facts established on the evidence of original letters and discourses, as the greatest part of those produced in the duke of Sully's Memoirs, and the present in particular, are, than to such as are founded only on the testimony of public report: and, if I am not mistaken, it would not be difficult to convince M. De Thou, that he is inconsistent with himself in what he says on this subject.

It may be asked, what was it then that occasioned that precipitation in concluding

the treaty, that appearance of favour which is manifest in it, that mystery which M. de Sully himself insinuates the king made of it with respect to him? I subscribe to the reasons *Marfolier* gives: first, that Henry IV. had no mind to ruin the duke of Bouillon, but only to make him sensible of the weight of his power, to contain him within the bounds of his duty for the future; secondly, that the duke of Bouillon seeing the instrument of his association with *messieurs de Biron* and *d'Auvergne* in the hands of M. de Villeroi, thought it high time to make his submission to the king in earnest, in order to obtain his pardon, which his haughtiness prevented him from asking, so long as he could flatter himself his machinations were concealed: thirdly, that on due reflection, Henry IV. concluded the duke of Bouillon would be able to do him less mischief at Sedan than any where else; and that for this reason he was so far from driving him from thence, that he sent him back thither in a month's time afterwards. As to M. de Villeroi, whose behaviour on this occasion the author condemns, he certainly acted only in obedience to the king's orders, and in conformity to his intention; and he is therefore greatly commended on account of this negotiation, in the 847th volume of the royal *MSS.* See the historians, and especially the *Merc. Franc.* anno 1606. No writer has given so minute a relation of this fact, as is contained in these Memoirs.

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lity; all I shall say therefore, is, that the duke of Bouillon had reason to think himself very happy that he got off at so easy a rate, after having obliged his majesty to set an army on foot, and bring a train of artillery of fifty pieces of cannon, within fifteen or twenty paces of Sedan, while he himself advanced almost to its very walls. All this Henry acknowledged, and sometimes he was greatly enraged at the duke's conduct; but his natural clemency prevailed. He made his entry into Sedan on the 2d of April, and left there fifty men, with Nétancourt at their head. Bouillon came afterwards to pay homage to his majesty, who sent for me to be present at this ceremony, which was performed in the king's chamber so early in the morning, that the duke found his majesty still in bed *.

I VISITED the town the next day, where, instead of those powerful supplies which were to come from all parts of christendom to the duke's assistance, three hundred miserable Lansquenets, and twenty-five Swiss, were all the foreign troops I saw there; all the rest were in proportion, the cannons in very bad order, with four or five unskilful gunners to attend them, no place likewise fit to receive them, no fascines, gabions, pick-axes, or planks; in a word, none of the usual preparations for a siege. It was not possible for me to restrain myself from expressing my astonishment to the duke of Bouillon, who was present at the survey, and who, not being pleased either with my observations, or the freedom of them, began a debate, which he supported with more heat than was necessary. But however ingenious his vanity might be, the inequality of the two parties were so palpable, that he passed among our neighbours, to have prevented his total ruin by an implicit submission. Cardinal Du-Perron, sent me a letter of congratulation from Rome, in which he says, quoting an ancient author, wars ought to be carried on with vigour and rapidity, for by that means we save both time and expence; those conquests which were made by the terror of arms, are more expeditious and extend farther, than those which are gained by arms themselves. The Pope spoke publicly of this expedition in very advantageous terms; and I was convinced, that, in all other countries, people thought of it in the same manner as they did at Rome. This gave me some consolation, that the reputation of our arms did not suffer.

* Henry IV. obligingly answered him, that it was not so much his city of Sedan which tempted him, as the good services he expected from him personally. MSS. *ibid.*

I PROPOSED likewise to indemnify ourselves in some measure for the expences of this armament, by reducing to his majesty's subjection the fortress of the earldom of Saint-Paul. And here it is necessary to remember what I have already said concerning the acquisition of this earldom in 1604, that when Gouillaire came from the count of Soissons to propose this bargain to the king, his majesty intrusted the management of this affair, in my absence, to messieurs Belleviere, Ville-roi, Sillery, and Maisse; and that upon the difficulties which I represented to this prince, would arise in the affair, he caused a contract to be drawn up, in the name of a third person, until the king, by making himself master of those forts, they should be declared his by right of conquest. 1606.

WHEN Henry proposed to me to pay the troops and disband them; "How! sire, replied I, disband them, what then will become of your contract for the earldom of Saint-Paul? Have you forgot the resolution you made when it was past? Since you have been at the expence of raising an army, what now remains but to employ it that way?" I represented to his majesty, that it would be the work of fifteen days only. The Spaniards had not the least expectation of such an attempt, and when it did happen, could have no just cause to complain, since the king only made use of that power granted by treaties to the earls of Saint-Paul, to chuse between France and Spain, which should be declared to the council of Madrid at the same time that we set forward. "I am convinced," said Henry, after having heard me attentively, "that you are in the right, but it requires some deliberation before we engage in this affair; and I should chuse to mention it to the principal persons here with me, and to my ordinary council." I know not with whom his majesty consulted, or what advice was given him, but two days afterwards this prince took me aside, and endeavoured to persuade me, that at present it was best to let this affair sleep. I confess, when I quitted the king, I could not help saying, "*Ab! de-par-Dieu!*—I find we are going to put our swords in the scabbards: with so fine an army, and so favourable an opportunity of employing it, we are preparing to disband our men." I was not able to alter the king's resolution; the troops were paid and disbanded, and I sent back the artillery to Paris.

THE king having a desire to enter this city with a discharge of all the ordnance, La-Varenne, by his order, came to acquaint me with it.

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"What does the king mean, monsieur La-Varenne," cried I, surpris'd at the proposal, "we have not drawn our swords, nor fired one single volley of cannon, and shall we play the victors? we who in two respects are the vanquished, for we have fought with too great credulity, what the king ought only to hold by his own courage, and afterwards have been afraid to publish our own acquisition. I was always apprehensive that things would be managed thus; tell the king that all the world thinks as I do on this occasion, and would laugh at us if we fired the cannons." I probably carried my freedom a little too far, but the-grief I felt at what had happened was the cause of it. The king would not hear this answer without great emotion; he concealed it from no one but myself. Praslin, and afterwards Béthune, came back immediately, to tell me from him, with great gentleness, that there was nothing unreasonable in what he required of me. And I, in my turn, thought I was able to convince them of the contrary. Henry began now to be extremely enraged with me, gave my resistance very harsh names, and sent me an absolute command to obey him: which I did with such expedition, and with so great a noise of the artillery, that he was appeased immediately, and sent for me to come and embrace him*. Bouillon was in the king's train when he made his entry; he would certainly have injured his majesty greatly to have feared from him any appearance of contempt. The king resumed his former familiarity with him; and if there was any change in his behaviour, it was only to greater kindness and respect.

ABOUT this time broke out the famous quarrel between pope Paul V. and the Venetians; the foundation of it had been laid long before, on occasion of some pretended ecclesiastical rights which the holy father undertook, at a very unseasonable time, to maintain against this repub-

* The Journal of Henry IV. makes no mention of this dispute, but, on the contrary, says, that M. de Rosny was at the king's side, conversing with him, and shewing him some beautiful ladies: that the marechal de Bouillon was very plainly dressed and mounted, and his look very sorrowful. A letter wrote by the king to the princefs of Orange on the surrender of Sedan, is set forth in this Journal in these words: "Cousin, I may say as Cæsar did, *Veni, vidi vici*: or as the song does: *Three days my love will last, and in three*

days 'tis past: so much was I in love with Sedan. You are now able to judge whether I was in the right or not; and whether I did not know the condition of that place better than those who wanted to make me believe I should not be able to take it in less than three years," &c. M De Thou is also mistaken, when he says, *ibid.* that the duke of Bouillon did not arrive till three days after. See the M. de Franç. where a description of his majesty's entry into Paris is given.

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lic; who, on their side, opposed them by very firm decrees *. Fresné-Canage, our ambassador at Venice, had given me notice of it since the month of October. These decrees, joined to the imprisonment of the two ecclesiastics by an arret of the senate, the interdict fulminated by the Pope upon their refusal to revoke those decrees, and to do him justice with regard to their imprisonment; and lastly, the protestation lately made by the republic against this excommunication, had brought matters to extremity on both sides.

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To speak candidly my sentiments of the affair, I thought the proceedings of both parties much the same, equally violent and imprudent. I have ever had a real respect for Paul V. and have professed to honour him greatly; nor do I think what I am going to say has any thing in it contrary to these sentiments. We live not now in those times when the popes exercised that spiritual authority from which they thought, and with reason, their greatest advantages were derived, and exercised it in such a manner, as gave them, in reality, a sovereign power over the princes and states in Christendom. At present, their usurpation of temporal authority is clearly known and distinguished, and is strongly contested with them. I may almost venture to say, that they are disabled with regard to their spiritual power; at least it is certain, that the protestants deprived them of two thirds of it at once; an example so recent, and so easy to imitate, that it was certainly very injudicious in the Roman court, to expose the republic of Venice to such a temptation, surrounded as it is by provinces who have shook off the yoke of the apostolical see, and who would receive them with

* By one of the decrees, of the 10th of January, 1603, it is forbidden to build any church without leave from the government; and by a second, of the 26th March, 1605, ecclesiastics, and persons holding in mortmain, are restrained from making any acquisition without special authority. I shall not enter into a discussion of these points of law, there being an infinity of treatises wrote at that time on each side of the question; the chief are those which came from the pen of cardinal Baronius, in favour of the Pope; and of friar Paul Sarpi, a monk of the order of the Servites, on behalf of the Venetians. All these may be seen in M. De Thou, the Merc. Franç. Mattheu, an. 1606. and other historians; and

in particular in the writings on this famous dispute. The Jesuits, the capuchins, and a small number of other monks, were all that paid any obedience to the interdiction, and thereby got themselves drove out of the Venetian territories: the excommunication was treated with contempt by all the other orders in the republic, and divine service continued to be performed as before. It is reported, that the vicar general to the bishop of Padua, saying to the governor, that he would act on this occasion as the Holy Ghost should inspire him; the governor made answer, That the Holy Ghost had already inspired the council of ten, to order all those to be hanged who should refuse to obey the order of the senate.

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THE Venetians, it is probable, run greater risks than the Pope, by making him their enemy. All these discussions, which at first the contending parties pretended to regulate and guide by the judgment or award of conscience, terminate, sooner or later, in being supported by arms; when, as it always happens, arguments, far from being relished, give rise to proceedings more and more violent. And there was nothing which this republic ought so carefully to avoid as war, since she may be convinced, that if the Emperor and the king of Spain do not prosecute their claims upon her dominions, which they scarce ever conceal, it is certainly because they have not pretences in readiness, or want opportunities. It is the part of the Venetian policy, therefore, to aim continually at maintaining the republic and all Italy in the state they are at present : for them no change can be advantageous, and any revolution fatal. I have often examined this matter in my conversations with the cardinals de Joyeuse and Du-Perron, and laboured with more candor than is generally shewn by a zealous Huguenot, to find out means to prevent the new religion from getting a footing either in Italy or Spain, provided that they, on their side, would promise, that the Pope, who was the head of Italy, should spare himself the trouble of taking any interest in that part of Europe with which he had no connexion ; for it has been always my opinion, that the true system of politics, that which may give and preserve tranquillity to Europe, depends upon fixing her in this equilibrium *.

COULD they have thought in this manner at Rome and at Venice, every one there would have conspired to stifle the present quarrel in its birth ; and for this a seasonable and mild discussion had been sufficient : those affairs in appearance the most intricate and perplexed, are still

* It is easy to distinguish in this discourse, as well as in all others where matters of religion come in question, how M. de Sully's belief induces him to speak with too much vehemence, and carries him be-

yond the bounds of truth. I shall not make any further observation on it, as I apprehend the reader must before this time be accustomed to it, and not affected by it.

capable of being happily tempered by proper management, and this more than many others: we ought to consider them without any regard to the consequences, with which it is wrong to alarm one's self; for we ought never to be alarmed with what is merely possible; but they had designedly increased the difficulties, by proposing things which always rendered the prudence of the ablest mediators ineffectual. The malicious insinuations of those persons who sought to take advantage of this disunion, had also some share in heightening it. If there is a person in the world who, amidst the emotions of anger, is capable of listening to the voice of reason, I should advise him then to distrust the discourse of those persons who, when thus agitated, offer to assist his vengeance: it is on such an occasion, that hatred and envy lay their most dangerous snares.

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CANAYE, when he consulted me upon what, as ambassador from France, it was fit for him to do, in the present posture of affairs, thought it necessary, for my better information, to send me a long memorial of the grievances complained of, and arguments used by both parties. I made no great use of this paper; for to examine their reasons, and pronounce upon each, would not have been serving them effectually: I therefore told Canaye plainly in my answer, that, without having any regard to the foundation of the quarrel, the Venetians had no other part to take but to refer themselves to arbitrators, who might perform the office of a common friend to both, by pacifying their resentment, not judging with rigor. I named the king of France, as being, in my opinion, the only one who was likely to produce this effect; and recommended to them to make use of the nuncio Barberini, whose wisdom and integrity I was well assured of, to make a report of all to his majesty. They followed my advice, but not till passion had asserted its usual rights. However, during the rest of the year, it was confined to writings, wherein invective was carried to great excess; but happily, the contending parties were the two powers in Europe who were slowest in declaring war, which was what each relied on. We shall see in the following year the event of this quarrel.

Philip Canaye, lord of Fresny.

IT was of some use to the nuncio Barberini to obtain for him a cardinal's hat, which the Pope sent him upon making a promotion of cardinals, out of the usual order of time. His majesty, to whom he was chiefly obliged for this dignity, congratulated him upon it. Barberini often declared, that he had a good friend about the king in me; cardinal Du-Perron thought likewise, that my interest had been of

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some use to him, with regard to the archbishopric of Sens, and the post of great almoner; both which were bestowed upon him by his majesty: he made his acknowledgments to me for this service, and intreated me to procure him, during his absence, the enjoyment of all the privileges of his office.

THE citizens of Metz received a service of still greater importance from me, on occasion of the dispute they had about that time with the Jesuits; these fathers had two years before made an attempt to procure a settlement in Metz, the inhabitants of which avoided the blow by an application to his majesty, which I supported. The Jesuits returning to the charge, I again encouraged the people, sending them an account by Saint-Germain and Des-Bordes, and afterwards by La-Nouë, of the king's opinion of the matter. But at the beginning of this year their fears were again awakened, by the Jesuits raising new batteries stronger than before, obliging the clergy, and all the catholic burghers, to unite with them; they had likewise secured the duke of Epemon's vote, who was governor of Metz, and arrived there on the 15th of April, to put the last hand to the work; at least this was what the people apprehended, and that the governor acted in this affair only by the king's order's. Alarmed at his arrival, they sent me a letter the next day, which was followed by another, dated April 25, and delivered to me by the sieur Braconnier, who was strictly charged to urge all the reasons that had induced me to undertake their defence, which they were afraid I should forget: they likewise deputed two of their countrymen, one after the other, to court, to attend this affair; not, said those protestants, that they were apprehensive the Jesuits would turn them from their faith, but because they were persuaded the society, by its intrigues, would cause some revolution at Metz; the consequences of which, in a city so lately re-united to the crown, might be fatal.

IT was by this motive, that I endeavored to gain over his majesty, who likewise knew the importance of this city to his great designs. I filled the inhabitants with joy when I sent them word by their last deputy, that the king had granted their request, and would suffer no innovation to be made in their city; which I assured them of, in the king's name. They made me greater acknowledgments in a third letter, dated the 10th of July; but I could perceive they were not quite freed from their fears, their adversaries boasting, they said, that it was in their power to alter the king's determination.

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IN effect, the Jesuits received every day such striking proofs of the king's favour and protection, as might well authorize the fears of the people of Metz: this very year Henry made them a present of one hundred thousand crowns for their college of La-Flèche alone, and condescended to regulate the disposal of it himself, in the following manner: one hundred and sixty thousand livres for building the college, twenty-one thousand for the purchase of the ground, seventy-five thousand in lieu of church lands, which were seized upon, in order to erect a perpetual revenue for this house; for as these lands were possessed by persons who were not ecclesiastics, it was allowable to compel them to sell, (and that step was here actually taken) a pecuniary equivalent being granted them; twelve thousand for a dwelling house for the fathers, three thousand to purchase books for them, as much for the decorations of their church, six thousand for their subsistence for the present year (for Henry forgot nothing) and fifteen thousand, which had been lent them by Varenne after they came to La-Flèche, which this prince kept an account of. The paper was dated October 16, and signed by the king.

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BUT here follows another much more extraordinary. A counsellor of parliament, named Gillot *, had in the year 1603 lent a book to father Cotton, which he could not get again, though he had several times asked the father for it; at length he sent a servant to demand it, with orders not to leave him till it was returned: the counsellor getting his book by these means, happened, in opening it, to find a sheet of paper between the leaves, which had apparently been forgot by the Jesuit, and was written all over, as he supposed, with his own hand: this paper seemed to him to be worth my notice; he brought it to me, and after obliging me to promise that I would not name him in the affair, he left the paper in my hands, to make what use of it I thought proper. After convincing myself that it was the hand-writing of father Cotton, which it was easy to do, with the assistance of some letters he knew I had received from him, we accordingly compared them, and found them exactly the same: the following is a translation of it, for it was in Latin, and contained a long list of questions which the Jesuit designed to ask the devil, when he exorcised a certain person who was possessed, and who made much noise at that time †: the reader will

* James Gillot, counsellor-clerk in the great chamber of the parliament of Paris.

† Her name was Adriana de Frefne, she was born in the village of Gerbigny, near

16c6.

find questions of every kind in it, those merely of curiosity, some trifling, and even ridiculous, and others upon subjects which it is not fit for me to examine into: the writing begins thus.

“ By the merits of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, apostles; of Saint Prisca, the virgin martyr; of Saint Moses and Ammon, martyred soldiers; of Saint Antenogenus, martyr and theologian; of Saint Volusien, bishop of Tours; of Saint Leobard the monk, and of Saint Liberata the virgin.”

AFTER this follow the questions which the exorcist designs to ask the demon; they are without method or connexion, the author having, no doubt, just thrown them on paper as they occurred to his mind; and some are expressed in such a manner, as makes it impossible to guess what he would be at.

“ ALL that God permits me to know (observe that it is father Cotton that speaks) with regard to the king and queen; with regard to those who live at court; with regard to public and private admonitions; with regard to the news of life, and the right way; with regard to those who converse with princes; with regard to Laval, divine service, the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, vows, the ceremonies of consecration, and cases of conscience, the conversion of souls, and canonization; and if it may be permitted me to insist

Amiens; afterwards she settled at Paris, in Saint Anthony's-street: she drew to the convent of Saint Victor, where she was exorcised, almost as great a concourse of people, as Martha Broffier had done to Saint Genevieve. De Thou, who did not suffer this piece of history to pass unnoticed, speaking of father Cotton as one of her principal exorcists, according to his custom, treats that father's curiosity on this occasion with great severity: he further observes, that Henry IV. earnestly desired the duke of Sully to prevent this writing from becoming public; and that the contrary, either through imprudence, or by some other means, having happened, he pretended to treat the thing as a matter of no moment before his court; though inwardly he was much displeased with father Cotton. De Thou, book cxxiii.

Mention is also made of this writing

of father Cotton in L'Etoile's Journal; “ which became, says he, the ordinary “ subject of conversation in all company.” The author of father Cotton's life, after having given a detail of every thing in the history of Adriana de Freine, which has any relation to him, book ii. pag. 90. thus concludes: “ It appeared father Cotton “ had never spoken to the person who “ was charged with having published the “ writing; he was a counsellor of the parliament, and it was said that he found it “ in a book which father Cotton had borrowed of him: besides, the persons skilled “ in the comparison of hands, to whom this “ paper, which was pretended to be the original of all the rest, was shewn, and which “ was falsely asserted to be signed with father “ Cotton's own hand, attested, after having compared it with some of his letters, “ that it had never been wrote by him.”

“ farther,

" farther, with regard to the war against the Spaniards and heretics,
 " the voyage to New France, and all the coasts opposite to America;
 " and with regard to the means I ought to use, in order to persuade
 " men with efficacy, so as to induce them to relinquish their sins. To
 " know from the devil what danger it may be in my power to
 " prevent, and that he would inform me what If the person
 " possessed hath been baptized; if she be a religious; if any foul play
 " hath been meditated, by the malice of Clarençal, against Mary de
 " Valence *, or against the soul of La-Faye. To ask the demon when
 " Clarençal will go from home, the time, and the means, and if it
 " will be at night; if I have any concealed danger to apprehend; if
 " languages are inspired from God; by what means Chamieres-Fer-
 " rier by what means, or by reading what books, we may ren-
 " der sermons most useful; what is my greatest danger; what restitu-
 " tion his majesty is obliged to; what he (the demon) would have
 " me say to dame Acharia †, Du Jardin, and the brothers and sisters;
 " what was the apparition that was seen in Languedoc; if it be conve-
 " nient that mother Pasithea ‡ should come, and sister Anne de Saint
 " Bartholomew go to Pont-a-Mousson; and if he would inform me
 " what I ought to know, with regard to the king and M. de Rosny;
 " what hopes may be formed of his conversion; what protestants at
 " court are most easily converted; if no danger may befall him who
 " is protected by demons; if I am not threatened on that occasion
 " myself; what hinders the foundation of the college at Poitiers; what
 " are the duties of a niece; what passage of scripture is most clear and
 " most efficacious to prove purgatory, the invocation of saints, and the
 " power of the pope; where the animals drank in Noah's ark; what
 " sons of God loved the daughters of men; if the serpent walked on
 " feet before Adam's fall; how often our fathers had been in heaven
 " in the terrestrial paradise; what sort of spirits stand before the throne
 " of God; if there is a king of the arch-angels; what ought to be done
 " to establish a solid peace with Spain; if God will be pleased to in-
 " form me when the heresy of Calvin will be extinct; of my father
 " and his condition; of my brothers John and Anthony; how many
 " passages of faith have been corrupted by heretics; of the Geneva
 " plagiary; of the voyage of the father general in Spain; of the brief,
 " and father general, with regard to Baqueville, and the young
 " man who lives near Notre-Dame; when animals first migrated into

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* One of father Cotton's devotees. † Another devotee of father Cotton's. ‡ A
 nun, who will be mentioned again in these Memoirs.

" is

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“ the islands; and when the islands were first inhabited by men; where
 “ is the terrestrial paradise; how the king and queen of England, and all
 “ the English nation, may be most easily converted; how to conquer the
 “ Turk, and make converts of infidels; what part of the angels fell;
 “ what adoration the cherubims pay to the supreme Being, and what
 “ are his ideas of it; how I may correct my errors of writing, printing,
 “ and preaching; what embarrasses the demon and his companions in
 “ the ceremony of exorcising; what hath so often occasioned the pre-
 “ servation of Geneva; what he knows touching the king’s health; what
 “ may unite the grandes of the realm with him; how one may assist
 “ the sieur de Verdun, and what his motives of action are; on the
 “ hostage towns; on Lefdiguieres and his conversion; on the honour of
 “ my relics; on the letters written to madam de Clarençal; to be more
 “ than commonly particular with regard to that lady; what obstructs
 “ the college of Amiens and Tours; of the duration of hereby.”

THE king, when he returned from Sedan, staid a few days at Paris, and towards the end of April went to Fontainebleau, from whence he wrote to me, that, by his physicians prescriptions, he was beginning a strict regimen, that was to continue for ten days at least; upon which account, he deferred for so long the ceremony of the feast of Whitson-tide, and sent orders to his council not to attend him for fifteen days. He permitted me to pass this interval at Sully, provided I sometimes came to visit him. By this remedy, together with perspiration, his health was greatly mended.

THE affairs of greatest importance, in which his majesty was employed at Fontainebleau, were those which related to religion. The clergy of France assembling at Paris, renewed their solicitations for the publication of the council of Trent*; the public peace being con-

* In the Merc. François, anno 1606, may be seen the remonfrance which the clergy got Jerome de Vilars, archbishop of Vienne, to make to his majesty, with this answer to it by Henry IV. “ You have mentioned a council to me, I desire one may be called; but, as you rightly observe, the considerations of this world frequently clash with those of heaven: nevertheless, I shall always be ready to support the good of the church, and the service of God, with the hazard of my blood and life. As to simony, and the

“ holding benefices in trust for others, let those who are guilty, by their own reformation, set others an example to do the like. In the elections you see my manner of proceeding; I am proud of the footing on which I have placed them, which is greatly different from what it was,” &c. The king, notwithstanding, in consequence of their complaints, issued two edicts, prescribing many ecclesiastical regulations, which were confirmed, the one in 1608, the other in 1609. See also M. De Thou, book cxxxiv.

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cerned in this proposal, as well as in some others of the same nature, which it was resolved in the assembly should be made to the king. His majesty opposed them both with his arguments and authority, and treated the protestants in the same manner, who, in imitation of the clergy, seemed disposed to abuse their privileges. Some provinces wrote to the deputies-general at court, to solicit the grant of a petition they sent the king for holding a national synod, while at the same time in other provinces, they laboured to procure particular assemblies to be held, wherein it was the custom to appoint the deputies of the synod, and to draw up instructions upon the affairs which were to be treated there. Henry had sent me orders by Villeroi on the 22d of March, to take proper measures on this occasion in conjunction with my son, to whom he allowed me to give a share of almost all my business, and that I should afterwards confer with Servian the deputy from Dauphiné. He wrote to me himself from Fontainebleau, desiring that I would send for the deputies-general, and oblige them to declare what were the intentions of the protestant body, and to render their project ineffectual. I made him entirely easy on this head, by assuring him that, if I could not hinder the synod from being convoked *, I would at least contrive to have so many faithful servants of his there, as should render them master of all the debates. It appeared necessary likewise to use this precaution in the particular assembly of Dauphiné; and to satisfy the president Parquet that he might not suffer his office, which he was desirous of resigning, to be filled by any of the factious party, I sent Bullion into Dauphiné, and Esperian into Guyenne, with proper instructions how to act.

DES-AGEAUX dying this year, his post of king's lieutenant of Saint-John-d'Angely, was immediately solicited for by several persons, and among others by Beaulieu and La-Roche-beaucourt; the former had had a brevet for it before Des-Ageaux, but the duke of Epemon, Parabere, and all the burghers of Saint-John, uniting in favour of La-Roche-beaucourt, his majesty ordered me to send for him, and to give him all the necessary instructions for the faithful execution of this office, which he had determined to entrust to him. I took care not to speak for the duke of Rohan, Soubise † and he at that time not stand-

* In the royal MSS. see the original of a letter from M. de Sully, dated the 20th of May 1606, directed to the protestants of the province of Burgundy, by which he endeavours to dissuade them from this notion of holding a synod at Rochelle.

† Benjamin de Rohan-Soubise, brother

of the duke of Rohan, both of them sons of René duke of Rohan, and grandsons of John de Parthenay-Soubise. The duke of Soubise was one of the principal leaders of the calvinistical party in France, during the religious wars in the following reign.

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AT La-Rochelle new quarrels arose between the protestants, and the roman catholic clergy of that city, upon the extent and exercise of those privileges, which the latter were to enjoy there. Both parties made reciprocal complaints of each other; the ecclesiastics, that their adversaries often attempted to do themselves justice by force of arms, which was always forbidden; the protestants, that the clergy constantly suppressed the arrets of council, to authorise their encroachments; and both desired a decisive arret. The king, conceiving that an arret would increase their animosity, would have me undertake the office of mediator upon this occasion. I began by shewing them separately, what were their real interests; and, after I had assured myself of their obedience, dictated to them the following articles of accommodation, which will explain the causes of their disputes.

THAT the protestants should not prohibit the ecclesiastics from visiting the hospitals and prisons, or from hearing confessions, provided all this was done without any pomp, especially that of carrying the sacrament to those places: that the clergy had no right to assist at burials and public ceremonies, to carry the cross there, or attend criminals to the place of punishment: that the ecclesiastics should receive no bad treatment either in word or deed, when they passed through the streets in the habit of their order: that the protestants should not make any
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opposition to the building of their church there; nor to the commissioners appointed by them to mark out the place, provided this place was neither inconvenient, nor suspected by the city, in either of which cases they should assign them another, or leave this point to be decided by the king and his council. I regulated likewise some other articles relating to the police: that the catholics should be contented with the share they had in the public posts and offices to which they should be raised by a plurality of votes, and the usual methods; but, with respect to mechanic trades and corporations, as there was no reason they should be excluded from them, the protestants, by driving away their youth from the shops of the catholics, had set an example of violence to those cities where the catholic party was the strongest.

IN the mean time, at Paris, great preparations were making for the ceremony of the baptism of the Dauphin, and the two princesses of France*. The duchess of Mantua, who was to have the principal part in this solemnity, set out from Italy with a train of two hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty attendants. She arrived at Nancy on the beginning of June, and from thence her train and those belonging to the duke of Lorraine, sent to know of his majesty if, at the end of eight days, which she proposed to stay at Nancy, she might continue her journey. This requiring some consideration, Henry wrote to me, for I was then at Sully, to come to Paris on the fourth or fifth of June; adding, that he would come thither himself the latter end of May, and till I arrived make some short excursions to Saint-Germain to see his children, and likewise that he thought it necessary to send some person to Nancy with his orders. A kind of debate arose upon the manner in which the duchess of Mantua should be received, which was at length decided in the queen's favour, who alleged, that this princess coming into France only to oblige the king, and do honour to an extraordinary ceremony, too great respect could not be paid her. Accordingly nothing was omitted; she had the precedence not only of all foreign princes, but also of the princes of the blood, at which the latter were so disgusted, that they refused to assist at any ceremony where she was present, alledging, that it was a very extraordinary thing for princes of the most august house in Europe, to be preceded by a duke of late date, descended from a citizen of Mantua, who, after killing Bonnacolsy his lord, procured the administration of Mantua to be con-

* Eleonora de Medicis, eldest daughter of Francis de Medicis, grand duke of Tus-

cany, and wife of Vincent de Gonzague duke of Mantua.

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THE duke of Bouillon fought to take some advantage of this example, but he was not regarded; he had been appointed to carry the regalia in the ceremony, and would have taken place of the dukes, claiming this privilege as duke of Bouillon and prince of Sedan, and appealing to the examples of some of the princes of Sedan to whom he had succeeded. He was told, in answer to these pretensions, that the difference between them and him was, that they were really descended from sovereign princes, a quality which in effect gave them the first rank, while he was only descended from a private gentleman*.

ON the 20th of July, the duchess of Mantua arrived at Villers-Coterets, where she found the king, who waited for her. From thence they were to go by Monceaux to Paris, where I was employed in causing scaffolds to be built in the church of Notre-Dame in the palace, and in the square of the manufactures, and in making all the other preparations, when we were informed that a contagious disease had broke out in that vast city †; for which reason the king, after consulting the duchess, resolved that the ceremony of the baptisms should be performed at Fontainebleau. The tournaments and all the shews and diversions, which were to have been exhibited at Paris, were set aside by this new plan, which took in only the usual expences for the baptism of the children of France, and the dresses of his majesty and the royal family. The nuncio waited upon the king at Fontainebleau, as did also queen Margaret. The chapels of the castle being too small for such a ceremony, and that of the monastery unfinished, I proposed that the floor of the latter should be spread and the walls hung with tapestry, or that they should make use of the great saloon ‡ for that purpose.

* To shew how little reason the duke of Sully has to speak in this manner of a house so illustrious as that of Bouillon, we need only have recourse to the genealogists in general.

† "The plague, or rather the king's thriftiness," says L'Etoile maliciously, "deprived the city of Paris of this honour:" an assertion without any founda-

tion, and contradicted by all other historians.

‡ It was performed in the court called Cour du Donjon, which had been prepared for the purpose. The cardinal de Joyeuse, the Pope's legate, represented Paul V. as god-father, with the duchess of Mantua as god-mother to the dauphin. The eldest Madame of France was called Elizabeth,

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THE king himself took the trouble to examine the palace of Fleury, and caused it to be prepared for the reception of the dauphin when the ceremony was ended; for the contagion in Paris, instead of ceasing, had spread itself into some of the neighbouring places; nor was Fontainebleau entirely free from it. Henry * wrote me word, the latter end of September, that of six persons who had been seized with the distemper only one had recovered, but that there were no more taken ill. He withdrew the regiment of guards from Melun, where he had been told some families were infected with the distemper. It was about this time, that their majesties, crossing the river of Neuilly in a ferry-boat†, were in danger of being drowned, which was the cause that a bridge was afterwards built there.

after the name of the archduchess her god-mother, wife of the archduke Albert, and grand-daughter of Henry II. represented by majam d'Angouleme without a god-father; and the youngest Madame of France had for god-father the duke of Lorraine in person, and for godmother the grand duchess of Tuscany, whose proxy was prince John de Medicis; she was called Christina. See in the Merc. Fran. anno 1606, and in P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. the description of the manner of performing this ceremony, and the magnificence and rejoicings which preceded and followed it. See also vol. 9361 and 9364 of the Royal MSS.

* It is observed, in the journal of Henry IV. that no more than usual died in Paris this year, which are therein computed at eight in a day; whence the author concludes, that people gave way to a groundless panic.

† “ On Friday the 9th of June, says the same journal, as the king and queen were crossing the water in the ferry-boat at Neuilly, on their return from Saint-Germain-en-Laye, the duke of Vendôme being with them, they were all three in great danger of being drowned, especially the queen, who was obliged to drink a great deal more than was agreeable to her; and had not one of her footmen and a gentleman called La-Châtaigneraie, who caught hold of her hair, desperately thrown themselves into the water to pull her out, she would inevitably have lost her life. This ac-

cident cured the king of a violent tooth-ach; and, after having escaped the danger, he diverted himself with it, saying, he had never met with so good a remedy for that disorder before, and that they had eat too much salt meat at dinner, therefore they had a mind to make them drink after it.”

This accident happened, according to the Merc. Fran. because as they were going into the boat, which probably had no rail work round it, the two fore-horses, drawing towards one side fell over board, and by their weight dragged the coach, in which were the king, the queen, the duke of Vendôme, the princeps of Conti, and the duke of Montpensier, whom the rain had prevented from alighting with them.

The gentlemen who were on horseback, says that historian, threw themselves into the water, without having time to take off either their cloaths or swords, and hastened towards the place where they had seen the king, who, being saved from the danger, notwithstanding all the entreaty that could be made to the contrary, returned into the water to assist in getting out the queen and the duke of Vendôme. As soon as the queen had recovered a little breath, she gave a sigh, and asked where the king was. She testified her gratitude to La-Châtaigneraie, whom she had observed to be particularly instrumental in saving her, by a present of jewels, and a yearly pension.” Anno 1606, De Thou, b. cxxxvii.

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I STAYED longer this time at Sully than usual. The king, who was informed that I continued indisposed at Briecomte-robot, wrote to me on the 29th of August, and desired to know the state of my health. This prince made me captain-lieutenant of the company of gendarmes, which was formed in the queen's name, and, at my entreaty, granted a full pardon to La-Saminiere. These favours alone gave him a right to require and expect every thing from me: he was much afflicted to find, that the marriage of the son of Noailles with the daughter of Roquelaure, instead of uniting those two families, proved only a source of discord between them. Henry so often and so earnestly pressed me to attempt to reconcile them, that I used my utmost endeavours for that purpose. It is the part of a good prince, to keep all who are about his person united; and of a wise one, to effect this union rather by the interposition of others than by his own.

I WAS likewise well rewarded for my labours in the finances; the contractors giving his majesty an hundred and fifty thousand livres, and the continuance of the lease of the salt for six years produced him likewise a gratification of sixty thousand crowns. The king disposed of these two hundred and ten thousand livres in the following manner: eighty thousand livres were set apart for the purchase of Moret, and thirty-six thousand for some occasions of his majesty; the queen had twelve thousand, the duke of Nemours thirty, Versenai eighteen, and myself thirty thousand. I likewise received, during the course of the year, twice this sum in different gratuities.

To execute the edicts, the court of aids sent every year a deputation of counsellors into those districts where the excise was levied upon salt, in order to make a distribution and regulation thereon; to lay fines upon those whom they found exercising the trade of selling salt without licence. Nor was this the only reason for sending those commissioners; for the lieutenant-general of Blois sent me word, that two of the commissioners that were appointed to levy the excise upon salt and the other taxes for the different officers of the district, were guilty of many crimes in the discharge of their employment. To which I answered, that he was in the wrong to make a complaint without specifying any particulars; but that, however, I had sent him a regulation with regard to those two points, in order for him to shew to the commissioners, which if they disobeyed, I promised to give him ample satisfaction.

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THE import of the regulation was, that the excise upon salt should not for the future be augmented merely upon the districts, but that the particular parishes should be specified in proportion to the number of chimnies, at the same time easing the poorer parishes of an equal sum. With regard to the contraband traders in salt, it was my opinion, that there was a distinction to be made between them; for as those who sold the contraband salt could not be punished too severely, so those who only purchased it from the unlicensed traders, merely because they got it cheaper than the other salt, deserved to be treated with more lenity, especially when they were not taken in the fact.

As to the tax upon the officers of the finances, there are two kinds of it, one upon all the officers in general, into which the king had thought proper to consent that enquiries should be commenced against them; and the other upon the elects in particular, founded upon the re-establishment of their rights, taxations, and exemptions, of several kinds. It was established by the regulation, that the first of these taxes should not be exacted for the future but by mutual consent; so that they who should declare before the officer that gave them notice of it, and afterwards before the judge or notary of the place, that they did not intend to take advantage of the king's abolition, should not be compelled to pay it; but in that case they were subject to a criminal prosecution, if they were discovered to have failed in the execution of their trust. The second tax was the same; those elects who liked better to give up the privilege of their office, were discharged from it; but they were obliged to repay whatever they might have received under that title, contrary to the edicts and establishments of the king and the states.

THE commissioners sent to Rouen gave it as their opinion, that it was but reasonable to strike eleven thousand crowns off the account of the taxes of the province of Normandy, because the treasurers of France were to write to me upon this head, and had prepared to send deputies to the king, in order to obtain his approbation of this retrenchment. I answered them, that there was no need for their taking this step, for that I would undertake to persuade his majesty thereto, who was already sufficiently inclined of himself to give them much greater marks of his affection, if the state of his affairs, and the donations he was obliged to make to a number of insatiable courtiers, had permitted him. I further promised, that I would join with them, in order to ease the provinces

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provinces of a much greater sum than this, from which the poor could obtain but a very small relief. I perceived the reasonableness of the promise I had made them, when I saw a sum of two hundred forty-six thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres joined to the taille of Provence, though it had nothing to do with it.

THIS sum consisted of the following articles : Thirty-three thousand livres for the bridges and causeways of the whole province, which extended both to Rouen and Caën : Thirty-seven thousand five hundred livres for the suppression of the edict on linen cloth in those two districts : Twenty-two thousand five hundred livres for the maintainance of the bridge of Rouen, raised by an assessment on those two districts ; although on this account several sums were levied upon Paris and other cities : Fifteen thousand livres for the bridges of Mantes and Saint-Cloud : Thirty thousand livres for the canal of communication between the Seine and the Loire : And eight thousand three hundred and eighty-one livres for the grand prevost of the province. I repeat it again, that all these different collections were foreign to the taille. And it was not reasonable, that persons who received no advantage from the public repairs, should be obliged to furnish money for them. For some years past they had considerably augmented these sums, which, in appearance, were designed for that use ; but which, in reality, remained in the purses of some individuals, without one penny being returned to the king.

I OBLIGED the receiver of Angoulême to be answerable for some money which he alleged was not now in his hands : had that been true, he was not the less liable to pay it, because it could not have been legally demanded of him without letters patents from the king. Although it might happen that some things escaped me, yet Henry let nothing pass unnoticed ; he had been informed that some powder had been embezzled, and he desired me to have those who were guilty of that misdemeanor prosecuted for it. It being absolutely necessary for the security of the stores in the magazines, that such practices should be punished, as being a matter of great consequence with respect to all the magazines in general. He knew that there was carrying on in my absence a commission for recovery of the sums omitted to be received, and of false seizures : he wrote immediately to the chancellor, that the affair should be superseded, because, as I must certainly have been acquainted with it before I went away, I should have taken some measures

measures about it, if I had thought it would have been brought into question.

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His expences this year were as great as usual, I don't mean in presents of jewels suitable to so opulent a prince, for in these Henry did not shew himself prodigal; as, for example, designing to make a present of a jewel to an Italian lady, he was desirous that it should not be mean; but at the same time, that the price might not exceed a thousand or twelve hundred crowns: and he wrote to me to look out for a ring for him, with the diamond cut in the form of a heart; or in any other, rather than to be cut table-fashion, because the expence would be less and the shew greater: but his personal expences, and those at play especially, always made up a very considerable article. I often received messages, like that of the 11th of December: Henry having lost all his money at play, sent me word in a billet, of which Lomenie's nephew was the bearer, that Morand must bring him that evening two thousand pistoles. I had excessive large accounts to settle with Parfait, for the extraordinary expences of his household. On the 4th of October he sent me orders to pay eighty-five thousand five hundred and four livres to mademoiselle Du-Beuil, for which that billet was to serve for a receipt. He had remitted to Zamet, as payment of the remainder of an account he was indebted to him for the year 1602, the tax of two sols, six deniers, upon three bushels of salt; but as this tax did not now subsist, I was obliged to pay Zamet, this year, thirty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-two livres, to which that old account amounted; and to pay him besides, thirty-four thousand two hundred and twenty livres, which he had since lent to his majesty, or disbursed for him. He made La-Varenne a present of a thousand crowns. Villeroi, by his orders, wrote to my son, that I must pay a debt which this prince owed to Balbani, who was confined in Fort-l'Evêque; and that I must endeavour to procure his release.

AMONG other expences, which did Henry more honour, I take in those for repairing the gates of Saint-Bernard, and the Temple, and the fountains before the sessions-house, and the crois du Tiroir. His majesty had written to the lord mayor of Paris, that he desired this work might be finished before Midsummer. The council, I know not for what reason, gave an arret afterwards which rendered this order ineffectual, by applying the money designed for these fountains to paving the streets of Paris, contrary to their first intentions, when, in the contract with the paviors, it was ordered, that the sum necessary for this

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purpose should be levied upon the inhabitants of the city, according to the number of feet the pavement before each door consisted of; his majesty, however, insisted upon knowing why these works were delayed, and upon what account the council had committed this error.

THIS prince had often desired me to give him general accounts, which should contain a detail of every thing relating to my three principal offices, of superintendant of the finances, grand master of the ordinance, and superintendant of the buildings and fortifications. I took an opportunity, when he was at the Louvre, and when I thought he had but little business upon his hands, to carry him these papers: but although it was very early in the morning when I left the Arsenal, yet when I came to the Louvre I found that his majesty was already gone out; I therefore sent all my papers back to the Arsenal, except a very short abstract, which I intended to shew him, and went to madame de Guise, to wait his return, she having often intreated me to dine with her.

IT was to make a party for the chace, that Henry had risen so early that morning, and he was resolved to dine upon the partridges he should take in hawking: he used to say, that he never thought them so tender and good, as when they were taken in this manner; and especially when he could snatch them himself from the hawks. Towards the middle of the day Henry returned, extremely well satisfied with his morning's diversion, and in a gaiety of humour, which his good state of health, and the happy situation of his affairs, contributed greatly to increase: he entered the great hall, holding his partridges in his hand, and cried aloud to Coquet (who waited there for his return, and was talking to Parfait at one end of the hall) "Coquet, Coquet, you must not complain of Roquelaure, Thermes, Frontenac, Arambure, and me, for want of a dinner, for we have brought something to treat you with; but go immediately and order them to be dressed; let eight be reserved for my wife and I; Bonneval here shall carry them to her from me, and shall tell her, that I am going to drink her health; but take care and keep those birds that are least bit by the hawks for me; there are three very fat, which I took from them myself, and which they have scarce touched."

As Henry was distributing his partridges, La-Cluelle came in, and with him Parfait, bringing in a large basin, gilt with gold, and covered with a napkin: "Sire, cried he twice, embrace my knees, for I have

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" have brought you a great many, and very fine ones." " See how
 " rejoiced l'arfait is, said the king, this will make him fatter by an
 " inch upon the ribs; I find he has brought me some good melons;
 " I am glad of it, for I am resolved to eat my fill of them to-day;
 " they never hurt me when they are good, and when I eat them
 " while I am very hungry, and before meat, as the physicians direct.
 " I will give each of you a melon before you have your partridges,
 " when I have first chosen out some for my wife and myself, and for
 " another person to whom I have promised some." The king then
 going to his own apartment, gave a couple of melons to two boys who
 were at the door, whispering something in their ear at the same time:
 and as he came out of his long closet to go to his aviary, perceiving
 Fourcy, Beringhen, and La-Font, the latter bringing something cov-
 ered up in his hand, " La-Font, said Henry to him, are you bring-
 " ing me a ragout for my dinner?" " Yes, sire, replied Beringhen,
 " but these are raw meats, fit only to feast the eyes with." " That
 " is not what I want, replied his majesty, for I am excessively hun-
 " gry, and would rather have my dinner than any other thing: but,
 " La-Font, what is it you have wrapped up so?" " Sire, said Fourcy,
 " he has got patterns of several sorts of stuffs, carpets, and tapestry,
 " which your best manufacturers have undertaken to make." " Oh!
 " replied Henry, they will afford us some amusement after dinner; I
 " will shew them to my wife, and to another person, whose opinion
 " and mine do not always agree, especially when we are talking of
 " what he calls baubles and trifles: I believe, Fourcy, added he, you
 " guess whom I mean; I should be glad to have him present with
 " my wife when you shew us these stuffs, it will bring something to
 " my remembrance which I want to communicate to them when they
 " are together, that I may have their opinions: he often tells me,"
 pursued his majesty, still speaking of me, but without naming me,
 " that he never thinks any thing fine or good, that costs double its
 " real value; and that I should think the same of all goods extremely
 " dear: I know his reasons for talking in this manner, although I
 " pretend to be ignorant of them; but we must suffer him to talk, for
 " he is not a man of few words. Fourcy, go for him immediately;
 " or that he may be here the sooner, send one of my coaches for
 " him, or your own."

THE coachman meeting one of my footmen, whom I had sent to the
 Louvre to inquire if his majesty was returned, he came to the duchess
 of Guise's, where I had just dined: I surprised his majesty when I

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 " great haste," said this prince to me when I entered the room,
 where he was still at table, "you could not possibly have come directly
 " from the Arsenal." When I told him where I had dined; "That
 " whole family being related to you, said he, and loving you so much
 " as they do, for which I am very glad, I am persuaded that while
 " they follow your counsels, as they say they are determined to do,
 " they will never do any injury either to my person or state." "Sire,
 " returned I, your majesty says this in a manner so unreserved, that I
 " see you are in a good humour, and better satisfied with me than you
 " have been these fifteen days." "What! you still remember that
 " then, interrupted Henry, I assure you I do not; you know that our
 " little resentments ought never to last more than a day: I am very
 " sure that yours would not hinder you from undertaking, the very
 " next day, to do something for my advantage in my finances. I
 " have not," continued Henry, with great gaiety, "found myself so
 " light and so easy these three months as this day; I mounted my
 " horse without help; I have had great pleasure in the chase this
 " morning; my hawks have flown, and my greyhounds have run
 " so well, that the former have taken a great number of young
 " partridges, and the latter three large hares; one of the best of my
 " hawks, which I thought lost, has been found and brought back to
 " me: I have a very good appetite, have eat some excellent melons,
 " and they have served me up some quails, the fattest and tenderest I
 " have ever eat. By letters from Provence," continued the king, to
 shew me that every thing conspired to his happiness, "I am informed,
 " that the seditions in Marseilles are entirely quelled; and from several
 " other provinces I have news, that there never has been so fruitful a
 " season, and that my people will grow rich, if I permit them to ex-
 " port corn. Saint-Antoine writes me word, that the prince of Wales
 " is always talking of me, and of the friendship which he promised
 " you he would ever preserve for me. From Italy I am informed,
 " that affairs there are in such a situation, that I shall have the ho-
 " nour of reconciling the Pope and the Venetians. Bongars writes
 " me word from Germany, that the new king of Sweden is upon
 " better terms with his subjects; and that the landgrave of Hesse
 " acquires every day new friends and allies. Buzenval has written
 " to Villeroi, that both the Spaniards and Flemings are brought so
 " low, that they will soon be obliged to listen to proposals for a peace,
 " or a truce, of which I must necessarily be the mediator and pro-
 " tector: and thus begin to render myself the arbitrator of all the dis-
 " ferences

"ferences among the princes of Christendom. And for an increase of 1606.
 "satisfaction, said this prince gaily, behold me here at table, surrounded with all these persons you see" (for he had with him Du-Laurens, Du-Perron the younger, Gutron, Des-Yvetaux, Chaumont, and the fathers Cotton and Gonthier) "of whose affection for me I am well assured, and who, as you know, are capable of entertaining me with useful as well as agreeable conversation; which shall not, however, hinder me from talking of business as soon as I have dined, for then I will listen to every body, and will satisfy all, if reason and justice can do it."

I FOUND, by some other things his majesty said, that the company had turned the conversation upon his person, and had alike praised him for his great qualities, and congratulated him upon his good fortune. It would be difficult, I said, to find better judges than they were. "However, said Henry, I did not suffer all they said to pass without contradiction." And he confessed, that all their praises of him could not destroy his consciousness that he had many faults; and as to their compliments upon his good fortune, he told them, that if they had been with him from the time his father died, they would have been sensible that part of those compliments might have been spared, for that his miserable moments had far surpassed his happy ones. This led Henry to a reflection he used often to make, that he had not yet suffered so much by his declared enemies, as by the ingratitude and desertion of many, who, he said, were either his friends, allies, or subjects. The young Du-Perron, who in these last words found ample matter for his eloquence to display itself, began to treat this subject like a theologian, or preacher, and even a mystic: "You have delivered your sentiments," said I when he concluded, "in so lofty a style, that nothing can be added to your discourse." I then maintained to him, as well as to all the company, agreeable to what his majesty had just said, or rather to what I had myself been a witness of, that this prince had enjoyed less tranquillity during the peace, than he did in all the troubles and alarms of war. "Rosny, said the king to me, if you will put a few words upon this subject on paper, I will shew it to some incredulous persons." I replied, that it required some time to do that, and likewise might not be received favourably by every one. To this I added some other plain truths upon religion and policy; and the misery with which France was threatened if she should lose her king; which I believe was still less pleasing to the courtiers, than what I had said before.

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THIS conversation, which from being gay and lively had taken a very serious turn, was interrupted by the queen, who had left her chamber, and was going to her closet. The king, rising from table, went to meet her, saying, "Well, my dear, were not the melons, partridges, and quails I sent you very good? if your appetite has been as keen as mine, you have dined extremely well; I never eat so much as I have done to-day, or was ever in a better humour; ask Rosny, he will tell you the occasion of it, and will acquaint you with the news I have received, and the conversation we have had." The queen, who was likewise more than usually chearful, replied, that to contribute, on her side, to divert his majesty, she had been making preparations for a ballet and an interlude of her own invention; the ballet was to represent the felicity of the golden age; and the interlude, the amusements of the four seasons of the year. "I do not say, added she, that I have not had a little assistance, for Duret and La-Clavelle have been with me the whole morning, while you were at the chace." "How charmed am I to see you in this humour, my dear, said Henry to her, I beseech you let us always live together in this manner." Fourcy was then ordered to shew the patterns for the stuffs and tapestry. The king desired the queen to tell him her opinion of them; and turning to me, "I know what yours is already, said he; but now let us see your abstracts of accounts?"

OF these there were three, the same number with the general accounts: this is a simple sketch of this undertaking; in the first, which regarded the superintendancy of the buildings and fortifications, the king found what was contained in the general account; 1st, a memorial of all the fortifications made in the frontiers since the direction was in my hands; 2d, of all the buildings and royal houses; 3d, of all the moveables, hangings, gold and silver plate, which I had collected for him. The second compendium, which related to the finances, was an index to the memoirs; 1st, of the changes and improvements which I had made in all the different parts of the king's finances and revenues; 2d, of all the gold and silver money actually in the treasury; 3d, of the improvements which I had got to make, and of the sums which I hoped to add to the former. The third compendium, which related to the office of the grand master, shewed the particulars of the general account; 1st, of pieces of six different bores, repositied in my Arsenal, and of all that related to the cannons; 2d, of the number of bullets, with the means of keeping all the train of artillery,

and employing them in good order; 3d, of the quantity of three sorts of gunpowder commonly used; 4th, of the quantity of arms, tools, and instruments of the train of artillery; 5th, of the number of soldiers, as well gentlemen as volunteers, whom the king could set on foot, reckoned according to the division of the kingdom.

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THAT the reader may the better understand what has been said a little higher, with respect to Spain and the United Provinces, it is necessary to see what passed this year in Flanders*. The Spaniards, to whom the army destined for the expedition of Sedan had given great umbrage, finding that they had nothing to apprehend from that quarter, the marquis Spinola set out from Genoa on the 6th of May, that he might arrive in Flanders on the 19th. The siege of Rhinburg, which the Spaniards undertook this year, was the only considerable action performed this campaign: at first the besieged defended themselves with their usual vigour, and made several sallies, by which two Spanish colonels lost their lives; the name of one of them was Thores, and the other commanded the new *terse* †, which came from Savoy. This bold defence made the event of the siege appear very doubtful, at best it was thought that it would be protracted a long time; Spinola was of this opinion, and the king supposed that Rhimberg would not surrender before the 20th of October: however, they capitulated the beginning of this month. If the courier was to be credited, who, the next day after the reduction of this city, was sent by Spinola to carry the news to Madrid, and who passed through Paris in his way, the besieged had not more than six tons of powder left; but, it must be confessed, that the Dutch did not, upon this occasion, exert the valour they had done in the preceding years; they were then indeed dispirited and weary of the war. The garrison, which was left by the senate to its own conduct, were satisfied with obtaining, that they should be permitted to march out with all marks of honour, such as carrying away their cannon, &c. They threw all the blame of their surrender upon the prince of Orange, who they said would neither succour the place, nor give any disturbance to the Spanish army. This reproach was not wholly without cause; prince Maurice's reputation suffered greatly from the inaction he lived in during this siege and the whole campaign.

* Consult De Thou, the Merc. Franç. in two or three places of Sully's Memoirs, anno 1606. and Siri, ibid. on this subject. signifies a battalion, or several companies

† The word *terse*, which is made use of of foot, forming one corps.

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Brulard, lord
of Berny.

INDEED the conduct of the United Provinces cannot be wondered at, if we consider that they were reduced to such extremities, that it was not possible for them to carry on the war much longer. All the letters from Buzenval and Berny confirmed this truth; and public report did not exaggerate things in this respect. It was no less certain, that Spain was no longer in a condition to take advantage of their weakness. The sieges of Ostend and Sluys, had opened two wounds which they had never been able to close. In Flanders a peace was publicly talked of; and those who till then had shown themselves most against it, were, to their own astonishment, insensibly brought to approve of it. They now left off soliciting with ardour the assistance of France; or to have that reliance upon our promises as they had formerly. I am persuaded, that the still recent remembrance of all the obligations they lay under to his majesty, was one of the chief causes of a delay of a peace or a truce, which, but for that consideration, would have been concluded this year. A misunderstanding between the prince of Orange and Barnevelt, which divided the council of the States into two parties, contributed also to this delay; the former would not hear of a peace, and the latter cried out against a war. This opposition was the cause likewise that the council of France, could take no resolutions with respect to the affairs of Flanders, since it was not possible to serve one party without injuring the other.

BUZENVAL returned to Paris the beginning of December, charged with a great number of proposals. His majesty not well knowing what to resolve upon, sent him to the Arsenal, where I was confined to my chamber, to confer with me upon them. I confess I was no less perplexed than the king; I saw plainly that, if there was any resolution to be taken, with respect to the peace between Spain and the United Provinces, this was the time for it: but in what manner should we act, or how second the designs of a people without strength, without union amongst themselves, and so destitute of advice, that, as it was plain, not being able to agree upon the choice of the deputies to be sent to his majesty, our own agent to them was obliged to take this commission upon himself: shall we prevail upon these provinces to submit to the French domination, and so make their quarrel our own? But is not this to engage rashly in a war with the whole house of Austria, the event of which would be so much the more doubtful, as the countries necessary to be possessed were at the greater distance from our own; as we had yet no preparations made for entering the territories of our enemies,

mies, or vessels to invade them by sea, but those belonging to the States: shall we be contented with receiving a certain number of towns, either as a security, or in perpetual possession, to indemnify us for what money and stores we had advanced, as Buzenval offered in their name? This proposal has all the inconveniencies of the first, without any of its advantages; we should besides have numerous garrisons to maintain, because these towns would be doubtless upon the frontiers, where the Flemings would behold us with almost as bad an eye as the Spaniards themselves, of which we have a very recent example, in their behaviour to the English in the like circumstance. In whatever manner we disguise any resolution which necessarily leads to a war with Spain, it will as infallibly bring England upon us, as soon as we seem desirous of getting a footing, and making an establishment in the Low Countries; but that we might have nothing to fear either from the one or the other, it was necessary that our first attempt should be to make ourselves, by one stroke, masters of the sea against the Spaniards, and in a case of absolute necessity, against the English likewise. I believe I could then have engaged my head, that having nothing more to attack or defend but on the side of the Meuse, Spain would have entirely lost the Low Countries. But what great expences, and what prodigious efforts must necessarily be made, e'er this could be accomplished? I am still persuaded that we might, without giving umbrage to our neighbours, and without suffering any greater inconvenience from Spain, than complaints and murmurs, have still continued secretly to favour the States, as we did at present: but besides that the sums we advanced for them, must be increased in proportion as their power and strength diminished, all the advantage we could hope for from it, would be merely to retard the peace for some years. In the present state of things, there was no other alternative, but an accommodation between Spain and the United Provinces, or a war between us and Spain: with respect to this accommodation, there were still two parts for us to take, either to suffer it to be made without our interposition, or to appear to be the mediators of it; the second was the most reasonable, and this was in the end embraced: but at the time of which I am speaking, the king was very far from approving this stroke of policy; and, in one sense, it was that which met with most opposition.

THESE were almost all the reflections I made to the king, who desired to know my opinion of Buzenval's deputation. I put them in writing, because I was not able to wait upon his majesty: it was not my fault, if this paper was not entirely satisfactory. We left it to time to bring

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matters to a conclusion, but they continued in the same doubtful state till the following year. The United Provinces made some small presents by Aërsens to the king and queen, for which his majesty sent them his thanks, and made a present, by the queen, to Aërsens' wife, of four hundred crowns in jewels. Aërsens, by his master's orders, presented the king with a relation of a voyage which the Dutch had lately made to the East Indies.

I HAVE nothing more to say of Germany, than that the duke of Wirtemberg found the good effects of the king's protection: Montglat was his majesty's agent in that country; for as for Bongars, who was there also, and who had written a letter from Metz to me, which Henry read, because it was open, this prince would not permit him to stay in that city, nor in any other place, he said, where he might preach his doctrine.

ALL England was thrown into a consternation, by the discovery of a plot *, carried on by the jesuits Garnet and Oldecorne, with several

* A detail of this conspiracy would lead us into a relation of too great length, and has but little connexion with these Memoirs. According to De Thou and the Merc. Franç. it had its beginning in some of the latter years of queen Elizabeth's reign; see those historians, ann. 1605 and 1606. Ten or twelve English, and two jesuits, Henry Garnet and Edward Oldecorne, lost their lives on that account: all the crime of the two last appears only to have been, their knowing of the conspiracy and not discovering it. "The king, says L'Etoile, thought proper to say to father Cotton, when he spoke to him of it, I will not believe this of you Jesuits, or cast any reflection on your order in general; there is, however, one person at Rome with his holiness, who I know was not unacquainted with this wicked plot and conspiracy." anno 1605.

Father Oldecorne solemnly declared before his death (on the 17th of April, 1606) that he never knew or approved of this gunpowder plot. Mezerai says, that this father had maintained, that the attempt was good and commendable: but on what grounds he, who makes

Hall and Oldecorne two different persons, though these are only two names of the same man, says this, I know not. Father Garnet was executed the 3d of May. The judges took great pains to prevail on him to own, that he had come to the knowledge of it by other means than under the seal of confession, which they knew was inviolable amongst catholics. Father Garnet, according to the account of the catholics, had so little concern in this plot, of which Larrey makes him the author and chief promoter, that he made use of all possible means, even almost the discovery of it, to prevent it, incessantly exhorting the catholics to have patience. He had besides got father Parsons, and father Aquaviva, general of the Jesuits, to write, that the taking any violent resolution should, above all things, be avoided, the consequences of which must inevitably be fatal to religion. Memoirs for the general history of Europe, vol. I. p. 74. Matthieu, in like manner, exculpates father Garnet, vol. II. b. iii. p. 715. See also the book composed by father Daniel Bartoli, an Italian jesuit, intituled, *Dell' Istoria della Compagnia di Gesù d'Inghilterra*.

other

other Englishmen, against the king's person; the conspirators having resolved to blow up his majesty and the chief lords of the kingdom, when they were all assembled in the parliament-house, under which they had lodged barrels, and prepared trains of gunpowder. 1606.

This evidence is sufficient to confute those, who, like Bayle (*Rep. des Lett. March, 1687.*) have asserted, that, according to all historians, father Garnet and father

Oldecorne were convicted of being parties in the plot. This father Parsons, or Robert Perfonio, was a jesuit of great merit and knowledge.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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